

Social Order

THE NEW CITY
Arthur C. Marlow

December 1961

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PROGRAMS FOR AFRICAN LEADERS

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FULL EMPLOYMENT
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BOOKS • LETTERS • COMMENT

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Catholic Immigrant: The Early Wave

EDWARD J. MAGUIRE

HISTORIANS have traditionally divided immigration into the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries into two general periods—the old and the new. Old immigration begins with the end of the revolutionary period and extends into the 1880s; at this time new immigration begins and extends to the present time. As a general rule old immigration is mainly concerned with the peoples from northern and western Europe, the Irish, Germans, French, English, Scandinavians and Dutch, whereas new immigration refers chiefly to the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

Obviously, these two general periods overlap and, obviously again, the different nationalities associated with one or another of the periods are not limited exclusively to that period. The placing of any group into the old or new period means only that the nationality in question is usually associated, by reason of numbers or influence, with one period more than the other.

During the period of old immigration over ten million immigrants arrived in the United States from Europe. More than three million of these were from Germany; slightly under three million were from Ireland; about two million were from Great Britain, excluding Ire-

land; more than 476,000 were from the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, France and Luxembourg combined; more than 400,000 were from the three Scandinavian countries. This accounts for approximately 85 per cent of the total European immigration, the balance being scattered among the other countries.

It is our intention here to look more closely into the period of old immigration with particular emphasis on the relationship between the Catholic immigrant and the Catholic Church in this country. With exceptions, of course, all of the immigrants to the United States underwent a bewildering and sometimes frightening experience in the process of relocating from a familiar homeland in a strange new country. The Catholic immigrants faced the additional and most difficult problem of entering into and becoming part of a non-Catholic, at times anti-Catholic society. Did membership in the Catholic Church help or hinder the immigrant? What effect did immigration have on the

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Church in the United States and what effect did the Church have on the immigrant?

Any study dealing with the Catholic immigrant to the United States during the first three-quarters of the 19th century must necessarily deal largely with the Germans and the Irish. These two groups supplied over half the total number of immigrants in the period, the percentage of Catholics among them being extremely high, possibly as high as 80 per cent for the Irish and 30 per cent for the Germans¹.

Irish and German immigration to the United States took place simultaneously throughout the century with the number of Irish arriving annually outnumbering the Germans until 1854 when the reverse became true. The peak of Irish immigration was reached between 1846 and 1855, while the high tide for the Germans was reached in the 1880s. For this reason it is sometimes said—with a numerical accuracy—that the Irish immigration preceded the German. Actually, the two groups were migrating at the same time and were facing essentially the same problems, the Catholics among them being faced with the additional problem connected with relocation in a Protestant country.

This is not to suggest that all non-Catholic religious groups were welcomed in America with enthusiasm and that only the Catholics were misunderstood and persecuted. Nor is it meant to imply that only Catholic immigrants had any problems. In certain ways the

¹ Exact figures cannot be given because the religious affiliation of immigrants was not recorded. Approximations can be made on the basis of the district from which the immigrant came—whether it be the "Catholic Rhineland," for example, or "Protestant Belfast." Also no accurate figures can be given on how many were active, practicing Catholics.

Catholic immigrant is not to be distinguished at all from the non-Catholic immigrant. Regardless of his religion, the newly-arrived foreigner encountered many of the same problems—a new and unfamiliar land, strange customs, traditions and language and sometimes rather hostile neighbors. The Protestant had the same difficult task of transplanting his church, surrounded with European traditions, to the new environment of the United States. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the Catholic immigrant did have a slightly higher religious hurdle to surmount in the process of acceptance and assimilation. The young United States was a Protestant nation that had always been suspicious of Catholicism, a creed often described as a foreign religion autocratically run by a European despot and hardly adaptable to a democracy. That Catholics could ever become completely Americanized or ever become loyal citizens of the United States was seriously doubted by many.



The Catholic Church in the United States was not very well prepared to aid its members in overcoming these fears and suspicions; it was equally unprepared to receive and administer to the spiritual needs of the overwhelming number of Catholics that began to ar-

rive in the second quarter of the 19th century. There was an acute shortage of priests; moreover, funds were unavailable for the building of churches and schools. While the Catholic Church in Europe received some of its support from grants or from revenues from Church-owned lands or from the State itself, in the United States the support of the Church rested heavily on the shoulders of the parishioners. And the Catholics of this day were not noted for their solvency. Considering the poverty of so many of the Catholic immigrants and the very modest means of the rest, it is remarkable that they contributed as much as they did to the establishment and support of the Church.

Fortunately there was some outside help. In order to assist the Catholics of the United States a number of organizations were formed in Europe. One very significant such organization was the *Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, begun in Lyons, France, in 1822. Between this time and 1922, the Catholics of the United States received approximately \$7 million dollars from the association. And although it is often pointed out that the American Catholics have (over this same 100-year period) contributed more to the association than they have received, it should be noted that the Catholics of the United States received funds when they desperately needed them and without any obligation of repayment. Similar societies came into existence in the Germanies. In Bavaria there was the *Ludwig Missionverein* which contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Church in this country. The royal family of Austria sponsored the *Leopoldine Stiftung* which sent some \$1,500,000 to the United States during the first 15 years of its existence. It is commonly agreed

that the financial aid given by these organizations and others like them in Europe is an essential factor in accounting for the solid establishment of the Catholic Church in this country.

One of the more serious problems that confronted the Catholic Church in 19th century America—a problem that grew directly out of the mass immigration of Catholics—was the shortage of priests. It was to help satisfy this pressing need that many immigrant priests followed their people to the United States. The presence of these foreign-born priests, who knew the language and customs of the nationality they served, aided immeasurably in providing a needed discipline and leadership for the often-bewildered immigrant. Unfortunately, though, the immigrant priest could not always be of assistance in the difficult process of assimilation; he, too, was an immigrant undergoing basically the same process. In spite of this handicap, or perhaps because of it, the immigrant priest played an important part in keeping the immigrant loyal to the Catholic Church.

Foreign-born priests

If there had not been so many capable foreign-born priests active in the United States, there would likely have been an alarming rate of apostasy among the Catholic immigrants. In the diocese of Cincinnati in the early 1840s only nine of 50 priests were native Americans. Of the other 41, 12 were German, 11 were French, ten were Irish, four were Italian, three were Belgian and one was Spanish. It should be noted that while the Irish and Germans captured most of the positions in the hierarchy in the Church in the 19th century, priests of other nationalities were

quite numerous. It has been noted, for example, in the more recent studies of the Dutch in America that there were more Catholics among that group than was formerly thought. Perhaps as many as two-fifths of the Dutch immigrants in the United States at mid-century were Catholic; it is estimated that between 1847 and 1928 approximately 40,000 Dutch Catholics settled in the United States. Admittedly, this is not a staggering figure when compared to the Germans or Irish but it is certainly an addition not to be ignored.

Most of these Dutch Catholics settled in the Midwest, both in rural areas and in the cities. A large number of them lived in St. Louis, Cincinnati and Cleveland. The influence of the Dutch Catholics has been rather difficult to trace because they tended to settle near or among other Catholics rather than near or with Protestant Netherlanders. And very often the Dutch have been confused with the Germans by their American neighbors. Nonetheless, the Dutch Catholics are known to have had their priests among them, and only belatedly have the Dutch immigrant priests been given credit for the almost negligible loss of faith among Dutch Catholic immigrants.

The tendency of the Dutch Catholics to settle near or with other Catholics rather than near other Dutchmen of Protestant faiths had a marked influence on the progress of their assimilation. In this sense the Dutch provide us with an example of the seldom-noted fact that the Catholic Church aided and encouraged the Americanization of the European immigrant.

Accordingly, the Catholic Church in the United States proved to be an effective "melting pot" for immigrants where incoming European nationals learned to live together. In the Catholic climate of the

American Church they found a unity which today is the special pride of both Church and State. The Catholic Church encouraged the Americanization of the immigrant and loyalty to democratic values in the realm of politics; thus it played a significant role in the maturing of a united nation.²

In spite of the shaky financial basis of the Church and the scarcity of priests, the average Catholic immigrant held on to his religion.³ The immigrant looked upon his religion as one of the few valuable possessions that he could bring with him to his new country. And he was conscious, if not of the First Amendment of the Constitution specifically, of the guarantee in the United States of religious freedom.

Religious freedom

Whether French, German, Irish or other, the Catholic immigrant brought with him to this country his religion along with a large number of associated traditions and customs. There is no doubt that many of the Catholic immigrants, especially the Germans, tended to associate their religion with their homeland and, consequently, there was some fear that assimilation and Americanization would result in a weakening of faith. And very often rapid assimilation did have this effect. But on the whole, loss of religion among the Catholic immigrants to the United States was remarkably small. Just as the bulk of the immigrants in time adapted to life in their new country and became loyal and patriotic citizens, so too did they in time complete the transfer of their church from the old world atmosphere to the new.

² Colman Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans*. Catholic University Press, Washington, D.C., 1953, p. 9.

³ There are no exact figures on apostasies or conversions but recent individual studies suggest that certain qualified generalizations can be made.

The fear that the immigrant might lose his religion in his new surroundings was a concern shared by many clergymen in the United States. A number of American bishops were convinced that the dispersal and separation involved in rural settlement would make the practice of the Catholic religion difficult if not impossible. For this reason many church leaders encouraged the immigrants to remain in the city in spite of the known disadvantages of urban concentration. According to churchmen of this persuasion, the only way the Church could possibly serve the needs of the rapidly expanding Catholic population was to keep the Catholic immigrants together. Only in this manner could the limited resources and limited personnel be efficiently used. From this then it might be argued that the Catholic Church was responsible for the Irish "conquest of our cities."

However, the Irish preferred the city and their settlement there had little to do with Church persuasion. A more valid conclusion would be that the Catholic Church in America became an urban institution because the Irish insisted on settling in the cities. Although the Irish were rural by background, they were city pioneers by choice. Inability to sustain themselves on the land in Ireland was the basic reason for their move to America. And even though the conditions that drove them from the land of Ireland were absent in America, the average Irishman showed little interest in agricultural pioneering. As a group, the Irish had become discouraged with farming and found much more appeal in the prospect of immediate employment and a daily wage. Then, too, like so many of the other immigrant groups, the Irish were clannish and understandably found a

certain security and enjoyment among other Irishmen. The tracts of land were small in Ireland and the isolationism that characterized rural America was unknown and unwanted.

It might be noted, too, that the Irish immigrant was usually poor; most of them, therefore, were forced to take the first job offered, very often at the port of entry. For this reason, if no other, the seaport towns of the Northeast (especially New York, Philadelphia and Boston) retained a large number of the Irish immigrants. Those who moved away from the port of entry usually did so in search of employment, not in search of land, and consequently usually relocated in some other city where employment could be obtained. It was, therefore, because of economic rather than religious reasons that the Irish chose to become our city pioneers.



The Irish concentration in our urban centers undoubtedly made the job of the Church somewhat easier. The Irish had a tendency to settle in groups and as a result "Irish towns" or "Irish sections" grew rapidly in many of our larger cities. In consequence, the work of a single priest could be spread out over the maximum number of people. In these Irish settlements parishes were created and churches were built with a rapidity made possible in large measure by the fact that so great a number of individuals were involved in the project. These Irish sections in turn were magnets for later arrivals and, as the Irish "conquest of our cities" continued through the century, the Catholic

Church began to look more and more like an urban institution. With all of the disadvantages of concentration and overcrowding, there were then obvious advantages. The proximity of Church and priest was an important factor in keeping the Irishman loyal to his religion, as is indicated by the fairly large number of Irishmen now members of other religions in rural areas.



There was not, however, unanimity among the clergy on this subject. A number of prominent churchmen—mostly Western Bishops, such as Matthias Loras of Dubuque, John Timon of Buffalo, John Spalding of Peoria, Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, John Ireland of St. Paul—were much concerned over the "evils of the city" and encouraged the Irish to settle on the land. Clergymen of this mind supported, and in some cases even organized, colonization projects. They discounted the fear that the immigrant would lose his religion if he settled Western farmlands. They argued that churches could be built in small Western towns as well as in crowded Eastern cities and they insisted that the better social and economic conditions in the rural communities would foster the growth of the Church. The same, they thought, could hardly be said of the overcrowded tenements in overcrowded slums. Some little success was had in promoting Irish settlement on

the land and occasionally an Irish colonization project would succeed but in the long run the efforts to attract the Irish to the farm failed.

It is not so easy to categorize the German Catholic immigrants as city dwellers or farmers. Like the German immigrants in general, they are found both in the city and on the farm and have been quite successful in both environments. In broad terms the area of German settlement—the so-called German Belt—is that part of the United States above the Mason-Dixon Line and above the Ohio River stretching east to west from the New England-New York region to the Rockies. Settlement was particularly dense in what is known as the German Triangle, the three points of the triangle being St. Louis, Milwaukee and Cincinnati. The German Belt contains some of the best agricultural lands in the world and the German farmers were careful to get some of the choice tracts. For this reason, in addition to the well known German qualities of organization, *thrift*, thoroughness and industry, the German farmer was unusually successful. The city Germans, possessed of the same general qualities as their country brethren, often had a trade or skill in addition and are classed as one of our more successful immigrant groups. Cities noted for their large German population are, among others, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cleveland and Cincinnati.

Whether in the city or on the farm, the German immigrants (with the exception of the handful of radical Forty-Eighters) are credited with having been one of the most desirable and valuable of all immigrant groups. They are often described as wholesome, dependable, law-

abiding people who were seldom a burden on society and who contributed to a minimum degree to the usual "problems of immigration." Such comments—admittedly from German sources in many instances—describe the German Catholic immigrants.

Like his Irish counterpart, the German Catholic immigrant was very much concerned with preserving his Catholicism in his new country and characteristically turned his attention to building churches and schools. This applies equally to urban and rural settlers. Naturally, the city immigrants had the same advantages of concentration and proximity that the Irish had. In this regard, however, it should be noted that the German farmer did not settle haphazardly in out-of-the-way places. On the contrary, he showed a marked preference for settlement in a "German region." The German Catholics, wherever possible, took land near other German Catholics; they were known, moreover, as successful group settlers. As a result of this tendency, the German Catholic farmer was more often than not found among other German Catholic farmers and close contact with one another and with the Church was maintained. Thus, while the Germans contributed to the strength and growth of the Church in the urban centers of the United States, they also established parishes and fostered Church growth in hundreds of small rural towns throughout the northern half of the country.

One of the important and notable characteristics of the German Catholic immigrant was his determination to hold on to old world culture. The German Catholic immigrant associated his faith with his fatherland. He feared that the loss of language, traditions and customs would result in the loss of re-

ligion too. Therefore, when the German Catholic emigrated, he did so with a determination to bring along with him everything German. The German priests in this country were aware of this feeling (in most cases they agreed with it) and thus encouraged the German immigrants to continue old world customs and above all to continue to use the German language.

This is one of the major reasons why the Germans—laity and clergy—insisted on having their own parishes. It is also a major reason for their resisting merger with or leadership from Catholics of other nationalities. The use of the German language, the formation of various societies, the observance of their own special feasts and customs, all of these things were considered necessary for the preservation of Catholicism among the German immigrants. There is ample testimony from German priests of the 19th century to show their fear that German Catholics who could not practice their religion in familiar surroundings and in their own tongue would desert the Catholic Church in favor of one that had preserved German culture.

Major problem

This, then, was one of the major problems of the Church in the United States in the 19th century; nor was it a problem confined to the Germans exclusively. The French, for example, were very much of the same persuasion. The Church and Church leaders were faced with the primary job of helping the immigrant hold on to his Catholicism, a problem which often seemed to necessitate the preservation of his European culture. At the same time it was realized that the immigrant would be subject to nativist attack and would

not be considered a good citizen or a loyal American until in some degree or another he became Americanized.

In short, the immigrant was pressured by society to assimilate as rapidly as possible and pressured by his religion to resist assimilation as best he could. Church leaders recognized the dilemma and are to be complimented for having met success in both directions. For example, German culture was maintained for many years in German parishes and there was no appreciable loss of faith among the German Catholic immigrants. And yet in time—and time was the greatest asset of all in this situation—German Catholics became German-American Catholics or Catholics of German ancestry. The gradual blending of national groups that has occurred in the United States among all immigrants also took place within the Catholic Church among Catholic immigrants.

The fact that the Catholic immigrants of different nationalities had a source of unity and a basis of cooperation in the oneness of their religious beliefs was an essential factor in the operation of the melting pot within American Catholicism. This does not mean, however, that there were not violent differences of opinion over religious and other matters. Irish and French Canadians, for example, competed for jobs in the New England area and on occasion the economic rivalry became quite heated. That this antagonism should be carried over into the political arena was quite natural; many French Canadians joined the Republican Party as another means of counteracting the influence of the Irish, who were mostly in the Democratic ranks. The most serious aspect of the French-Irish feud was over the operation of schools and the creation of

parishes. The French fought to gain equal status for their language in the parochial schools and fought for the creation of French parishes with French priests. For many years the Irish resisted all such efforts.

The Irish had their trouble with the Germans too. At mid-century German immigrants were used as strikebreakers and, as such, retarded the Irish efforts at unionization. The German immigrants known as the Forty-Eighters—a small group of revolutionary intellectuals who had escaped or were exiled from Germany as a result of the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848—contributed to the conflict. With some justification, the Irish looked upon these Forty-Eighters as irreligious, radical freethinkers dangerous to both Church and State, while the German intellectual thought of the average Irishman as uncouth, uneducated and uncivilized.

The Irish and Germans also disagreed somewhat over the slavery issue. The Germans as a group were opposed to slavery and, for this reason among others, were attracted to the new Republican Party of the 1850s. Their participation on the side of the North in the Civil War and the excellent account they gave of themselves is well known. Many of the Irish, on the other hand, viewed slavery more from an economic than from an idealistic point of view and had little interest in contributing to the freeing of a few million slaves who would one day compete with the Irish in the unskilled labor market. This attitude quite naturally caused some Irish to look upon the probable freeing of the slaves as a result of the war as a mixed blessing. In addition to this, the Irish resented the unfairness of the recruiting methods of the North and for this reason among others participated in the

famous draft riots. Mainly for these reasons the Irish have been accused of opposing Northern aims in the Civil War but such a conclusion is an exaggeration and over-simplification.

Very often the misunderstandings and antagonisms between the various immigrant groups (Catholic or otherwise) stemmed not only from old world hatreds or rivalries but from resentment on the part of the established immigrants toward the newer arrivals. Early in the century the Irish complained bitterly against the "ecclesiastical tyranny" of the French churchmen, while the French looked with alarm at the large numbers of Irish Catholics pouring into the New England area. At mid-century we find the Irish protesting against the influx of so many German "foreigners" and the Germans complaining about the Irish capture of the hierarchy. And at the end of the century the more established Germans and Irish looked askance at the newly arriving Italians, recognizing a possible challenge in both the labor market and in the control of Church affairs. And the Italians resented the fact that on occasion they had to put up with a German or Irish priest and almost invariably with a German or Irish bishop. It is quite understandable that each of the groups involved in immigration would prefer—and even insist—on having priests of its own nationality. It is also understandable that the French, German, Italian and native American Catholics would disapprove of the Irish domination of the hierarchy.

By mid-century the Church in the United States was beginning to take on a decidedly Irish cast. The reason for this is quite simple. An extremely high percentage of Irish immigrants were Catholic and in order to serve their

needs a large number of Irish priests came with them. No other Catholic immigrant group could match the Irish in sheer numbers. While the total number of Germans immigrating to the United States up to the 1880s was roughly equal to that of the Irish, there was not so high a percentage of Catholics among the Germans. While nearly all the Irish were Catholic, the Germans were divided into Protestants (mostly Lutheran), freethinkers and Catholics.

No language barrier

In addition to their numerical advantage, the Irish had no great language barrier as did the Germans; because of their predilection for city living they had, moreover, the advantage of concentration. For these reasons among others the Irish got off to a commanding lead in supplying the Church with leaders and members, both lay and clerical. In the 19th century well over half of the bishops of the Catholic Church were Irish or of Irish descent. In his book *The Irish in America* Carl Wittke notes:

A study . . . from 1789 to 1935 shows that of 464 bishops appointed, 268 were Irish—a total which probably errs on the side of caution, for it counts only those whose fathers were Irish. Studies of specific dioceses show a similar preponderance of Irish names. As late as 1866, according to John Tracy Ellis, of the 69 bishops in the United States, thirty-five were Irish. The Germans ranked second with only fifteen. There is hardly a diocese or archdiocese in the United States that has not been governed by prelates of Irish birth or descent.⁴

The Irish position of leadership remained almost unchallenged throughout the 19th century. Their lead was reduced when Irish immigration tapered off in

⁴ Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1956, p. 91.

the latter decades of the century while the heavy influx of German Catholics continued and that of the Italians began in earnest. It was another of the great problems of the Church in the United States to adjust, if not to extinguish, the enmities among American Catholics of different races and nationalities.

But despite the various antagonisms and rivalries among the immigrant groups—whether based on economic or religious factors or stemming from old world backgrounds—it can still be maintained that they got along rather well. There were powerful forces working in the direction of unity, cooperation and understanding. As already noted, one of the most important of these forces for the Catholic immigrant was the unity of doctrine within the Catholic Church. A common religious belief acted as a strong bond of unity, as did loyalty of all national groups to the Pope.

Factors in common

In addition, there were many areas of agreement of a non-religious nature. There is the obvious fact that all immigrants, because they were foreigners, faced common problems and in a sense had a kind of unity imposed on them. More specifically, the Catholic immigrants, because of the unpopularity of the Catholic religion, had an even greater reason for banding together with their fellow communicants in order to resist outside pressure attacks. The anti-immigrant and especially anti-Catholic Nativist Movement of the second quarter of the 19th century forced Catholics of different nationalities into an alliance. This does not mean that serious differences did not still exist or that all old feuds were spontaneously patched up. Often enough statements are pro-

duced to show that an Irishman (for example) applauded the Nativist attack because it would help to curtail the growing and challenging power of the Germans. But these are exceptions and not the rule. When the Nativists centered their attack on the Catholic Church, as they often did, more often than not they met a united front and in the wake of their attack they left a more cohesive church membership than they had found.

Catholic immigrants also found some common ground in the area of social customs and traditions. Many of the European immigrant groups brought with them from their native lands social habits that were decidedly not approved of by the Puritan strain within the American population. The Irish, flooding into the Puritan stronghold of New England, were among the first to undergo severe criticism along these lines. They did not measure up to Puritan standards in cleanliness, thrift and sobriety. The puritanism that was ingrained in so many "native" Americans of the 19th century was badly shaken by most of the habits and customs of the Irish; they danced at weddings, drank whiskey at funerals, fought in saloons, rioted at parades and, as a *coup de grace*, engaged in any and all of these pleasures on Sunday.⁵

Here the Irish were joined by the Germans and other European groups; they all insisted that Sunday (in addition to its obvious religious nature) was a day of rest and recreation. They defended the propriety of holding band concerts, marching in parades, attending picnics, engaging in sporting events or

⁵ This is not to deny that there was a strong strain of Jansenism—Catholic puritanism in the Irish—but it did not apply to the manners and the conduct which the American Puritan observed among the Irish.

doing whatever they wished in the tradition of the "Continental Sunday." And many saw nothing improper in celebrating a part of the day in the saloon or the beer hall. In this regard the Germans, French and Irish all felt the sting of the temperance movement and, while some of them are known to have joined in this particular reform, others of them reached the heights of cooperation in resisting it.

There is little doubt that the Catholic immigrants to the United States during the period of Old Immigration discovered areas of agreement and cooperation of a non-religious nature. Nor is there any doubt that the Catholic Faith was one of the most important unifying forces of all. It would, however, be an exaggeration to suggest that the Catholic immigrants, just because they were Catholic, got along amicably or were of one mind on most issues. Social, economic, religious and nationalistic rivalries and antagonisms were ever present and from time to time broke out into open hostility, threatening the unity of the Church itself in this country. But viewing the 19th century as a whole, the conclusion can be reached that the forces of unity outweighed those of dissension. There seems to have been a minimum of heresy, schism or apostasy among the Catholic immigrants to the United States during the century. Although progress was sometimes slow and the process painfully difficult, the Catholic immigrant did transfer to America with his religion intact and he kept it intact while undergoing the trials of assimilation.

The Catholic immigrant assimilated about as well as any other immigrant. Admittedly, progress in this direction was sometimes retarded by the belief that loss of European culture would mean

loss of faith and, admittedly, Nativist attacks oftentimes drove the Catholics into a kind of ghetto where they adopted a clannish and hostile attitude toward outsiders. Such beliefs and attitudes were not, however, peculiar to Catholics; they are characteristic of immigrant groups, of whatever religion.

When facing attacks from the outside or in gaining acceptance by the community in general, the Catholic immigrants had an often overlooked advantage. It is true that they were a minority in the country as a whole but in certain sections of the country they were on equal terms or in some situations they were actually a majority. Seventy-five per cent of the 19th century Catholic immigrants settled in the Northeastern quarter of the country, mainly in the larger cities. And within the cities they were usually concentrated in certain sections. Therefore, the Catholic immigrant had the advantage of facing a sometimes hostile community as a member of a medium to large-sized group. Perhaps the best indication of the success of the Catholic immigrants in gaining acceptance into American society is the fact that many of them emerged from their lowly status into prominent positions, politically, socially and economically, in the latter decades of the 19th century. Another indication of their assimilation, acceptance and success was the late 19th century attitude of so many of the Old Immigrants that the New Immigrants constituted a danger to our American way of life. By the turn of the century, when the New Immigrants were facing ever-increasing legal barriers and mounting social antagonisms, the Old Immigrants (Catholics among them) were an accepted part of the American scene.

Catholic Programs

I. AN AMERICAN

II. THE ENGLISH

FOUR YEARS AGO, a contributor to these pages reported on the Institute for a Better World which, under the leadership of Father Riccardo Lombardi, S.J., was profoundly transforming the social perspective of Catholics in Italy. In passing, the writer looked forward to the day when the Lombardi formula would be "adopted and adapted to the American scene."¹ An attempt to do just this took place in the nation's capital this past August under the form of an eight-day leadership project known as the Seminar for African Leadership Training.

The program, called SALT for short, was designed to be a model leadership program for foreign students in the United States. During November, 1960, initial plans for the program were laid at a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Visitors' Office, N.C.W.C. The Foreign Visitors' Office has been increasingly concerned with the needs of the growing body of young Catholics from foreign lands pursuing higher studies in this country; it is quite evident that most of these young Catholics whose specialized education

destines them for positions of influence in their homelands have virtually no opportunity in the States to think through the ideals and responsibilities of their adult Catholic lives. In order to provide such an opportunity, the Foreign Visitors' Office agreed to serve as the initial sponsor of the program.

Subsequently, Father J. Patrick Cotter, S. J. and several other Jesuits from Woodstock College, together with members of the Xavier-Damians Professional Sodality of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, formed a committee to develop the program. The X-Ds, who had recently completed their second Institute for a Better World project for high school students, undertook to supply lay leadership and a tested counseling service for the program.

The over-all purpose of SALT was to communicate the ideals and responsibilities of the adult Catholic layman in the modern world; one's professional calling and adult preoccupations were to be seen as the working out of one's life in the Mystical Body of Christ.

To implement this purpose, a highly specialized faculty and a select group of students were invited to participate in the SALT program. A half-dozen X-D professional men were recruited to serve as counselors and a battery of a

¹ John L. Vessels, S.J., "The Movement for a Better World", *SOCIAL ORDER*, 7 (February, 1957), 50-56.

For African Leaders

EXPERIENCE

PLAN

dozen experts on African affairs was secured to provide competent leadership for discussion sessions. Furthermore, only a small, promising, and relatively homogeneous group of students was permitted to participate in the program. Smallness of numbers permitted active participation by all of the students and made personal counseling feasible; insistence on selectivity improved the quality of discussions and facilitated an intensive use of the Seminar period; finally, geographical, political, and religious homogeneity eliminated language barriers, provided a broad initial consensus and promoted the discussion of specific problem areas.

The competition for scholarships to the SALT program was opened on February 1, 1961; announcements were sent to all Catholic African male students located within a 1,000 mile radius of Washington, D.C. Applicants had to provide an essay of several pages in which they described the two or three key problems that their countries would face during the next five to ten years, along with their solution to one of these problems. It was primarily in view of the social consciousness and leadership qualities manifested in these essays that 32 SALT scholarships were subsequently awarded. The winners represented ten

countries or colonies of sub Saharan, English-speaking Africa and were enrolled at more than 20 American colleges and universities in the Eastern and Midwestern United States. The typical winner was about 26 years old, was majoring in a field of business or social studies and planned to return to his home country within a year or two; the most pressing problem of his country was the need for education on all levels.

Meanwhile, the content and format of the SALT program slowly took shape. An eight-day formula was developed, divided into three phases:

1. The context of Catholic professional life—*i.e.* the world of the students after graduation with all of its political, economic, educational and social problems; how ought an adult Catholic, conscious of his vocation within the Mystical Body, view these problems?

2. The inner strength and motivation of Catholic professional living; what set of values and what sorts of personal habits ought a Catholic have for effective and responsible leadership?

3. Programs of action for Catholic

The author was Executive Secretary of the project here described.

professional men; in what directions, with what priorities, according to what strategies should programs for remedial action be developed?

The SALT program held its initial session on the evening of Friday, August 18; the site of the Seminar was the Xaverian College in Washington—a scholasticate of the Xaverian Brothers. A keynote address, highlighting the layman's active and responsible role in the Church today, was delivered by Mr. John Mulholland of the National Council of Catholic Men. During the next two days there were lengthy and animated discussions of the political, economic, social and educational problems of sub Saharan Africa today. Experts from Georgetown University and Howard University pointed the discussions with provocative position papers and also served as discussion leaders.



Phase two consisted of a three-day retreat along the lines of the Spiritual Exercises. The retreat talks and the counseling sessions provided by the X-D men living with the students emphasized the development of personal prayer life and frequentation of the sacraments along with an effort to see one's professional calling within the context of the life of the Mystical Body of Christ.

The final three days of the program focussed on the problems associated with remedial action to meet modern African

needs. In succession, experts led the students in discussions of Communist strategies, foreign technical and material aid programs, priorities in self-help programs, the African labor movement, problems in the communication of new ideas and the administration of programs of change, obstacles to Christian family living and the intellectual responsibilities of the educated Catholic adult. Governmental agencies and private organizations supplied the skilled personnel to direct these specialized discussions.

The SALT program also included a visit to the White House and a public reception; the Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Africa, Wayne Frederick, and the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, Rep. Barratt O'Hara, spoke at the reception and offered an official welcome to the students. The Seminar concluded with several sessions in which the students brainstormed rough sketches of their national purposes and offered their evaluations of the program as a whole.

Experience so far with the SALT program suggests several conclusions. First of all, the basic idea of the Seminar was sound. The small numbers, the high calibre of participant and the initial community of interest enabled the students to probe deeply into the problems of modern Africa within the limited time available. If anything, the contributions of the African experts who participated were too extensive and left too little time for the students' own exploration of the problem areas. Furthermore, the students were greatly impressed by the initiative and concern of Catholic laymen in providing the program and arranging to live with the students during the period. It is difficult to imagine a more effective way of

teaching the active role of the layman in the Mystical Body of Christ.

A second conclusion is that the SALT formula can be employed by groups that can marshal only meagre resources and who do not themselves possess the specialized knowledge needed; the heart of the program is the bringing together of competent and interested specialists and students in a setting that permits intensive discussion and careful reflection. Such resources are available in many metropolitan areas throughout the country.

Thirdly, a single SALT program could touch but a tiny fraction of the foreign students currently in the States who are apt subjects for such a Seminar. Many more Seminars along the lines of SALT are urgently needed—for Catholic Africans in other sections of the country, for Catholic students from other continents such as Latin America, for women students, and even for non-Catholic students enrolled at American schools—if the more able graduates from American higher education are to return home with a deep sense of their call to provide effective and responsible leadership for their peoples.

Finally, experience with the program underlines the pressing need to develop a broad range of continuing contacts

between the Catholic foreign student and the American Catholic community. Some of the students suggested that the Seminar would have been a success if it had merely succeeded in assembling the students and the X-D professional men for a week of living together; the experience of close contact with fellow Catholics was, unfortunately, a fresh experience for many. It is a remarkable testimony to the quality of the African's faith that the frequent failure of American Catholics to welcome him into their homes and parishes has not driven more of the students into the welcoming hands of non-Catholic Christians or into a stubborn stance of a cool indifferentism towards the practice of his faith.

Over-all, the SALT formula proved successful beyond the expectation of both planners and participants. Yet the fact remains that the program was originally devised as a *model* program, a plan for a host of similar leadership programs which, in toto, would begin to prepare the foreign student training in the United States for a life of dedicated and responsible service in his homeland. In a larger sense, therefore, the success or failure of the SALT project will have to await the verdict of history.

Father Crane is Director of Claver House and editor of our sister publication, Christian Order.

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THE LATE PROFESSOR R. H. TAWNEY used to say that the best way of studying England's industrial revolution was to examine the evolving economies of contemporary backward countries. If you selected them aright, he said, you could present

yourself now with the most vivid picture imaginable of the social and industrial upheaval endured by the English people during the past two hundred years.

It is the same with many of the problems that have confronted the Church

in past years. A study of the emerging countries now reveals very clearly yesterday's lost opportunities in Britain and the United States. The question, really, is whether similar opportunities will be lost again in Africa, Asia and South America. At the moment, it is difficult to see why they should not be.

The Church's task

Now, as then—in contemporary Africa, for example, as in yesterday's Europe—the problem for the Church is to avoid being by-passed by a social revolution of tremendous sweep and power. More positively, she has to give Christian shape to a society already well advanced in a secularist mould and on which, very soon, already active Communist forces will begin to strike their pattern. The Church's task in Africa is that of influencing a rapidly evolving society. Her opportunity for doing so will persist, with diminishing force, as long as the evolution of Africa is in process. Once this is completed, her chance will be cut down almost to nothing. Her opportunity is now—when the situation in the African countries is still fluid and her ability to impart direction relatively unimpaired.

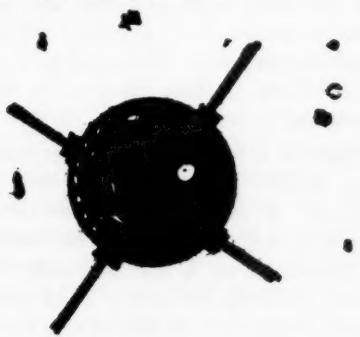
In order to influence evolving Africa effectively the Church will have to overcome two great difficulties. The first is represented by a rising generation insufficiently acquainted with the relationship between religion and daily personal living; wholly unaware, for the most part, of the relevance of its Faith to social and political life. The second difficulty flows from the first. It is found in the failure of the Church to make itself incarnate in African society, to concern itself sufficiently with the material welfare of the people, giving

shape and form to their social life. Whilst acknowledging the immense amount accomplished in the medical and educational fields, it must be stated that, in today's circumstances, this is not enough. Too often this kind of effort seems to the inquiring, educated African secularist to represent no more than a series of palliatives designed to take the sting out of a social order which he thinks of as intrinsically unjust. His secularism, when in power, would sweep the material substance of this effort—hospitals, dispensaries, leprosaria, schools—into the hands of a Socialist state planning out African society in the name of the people and excluding the Church from its councils. Today, your young African secularist would banish the Church from the market place. His attack can be met best by a Christian radicalism that expresses itself particularly at regional and rural levels. So far, this has not been forthcoming. The reason is found in the almost total unawareness of the social doctrine of the Church on the part of the rising generation of educated Catholic Africans. In this context, the empire of secularist and socialist success in contemporary Africa is the measure of Christianity's tragic deficiency in the field of social teaching.

Lay leaders

In the longer run, the Church in Africa has to transform a bulky scattering of baptized Catholics into an integrated Christian community that will be necessarily outward looking because aware of the meaning of grace and fully cognizant of the relationship between religion and social life. That task, which particularly concerns the rising generation, has not yet been begun. How it is

to be accomplished is not the concern of this article. In the shorter term—now, in fact—men must be found to extend the Church's effort into the creation of social forms that are Christian in content and designed to raise a people's standard of living. In some very rare cases a tentative beginning has been made in this field.



Against the background provided by the thumbnail sketch given above, the Church's pressing and present task is immediately obvious. It is to produce with the utmost speed an African lay élite whose object it will be to initiate without delay programs of social reform that are immensely practical in content and Christian in inspiration. This represents a great part of the present task to be accomplished by a young Catholic African laity that is dedicated to leadership. The remainder of their task will be carried through to the extent that a strongly Christian influence is exercised by these same laymen at the key points they occupy in the structure of their countries' social, political and industrial life. The pressing need, then, is for leadership by dedicated men in these two ways and their aims, as leaders, must be not merely to hold secularism in check but to overcome it. Meanwhile, the Church on the spot, in Afri-

ca and elsewhere, must gear itself to the longer-term needs of the new age which is upon it.

In October 1960, Claver House was founded in London for the specific purpose of training this élite. The idea was born in Rome in 1959. It is the fruit essentially of the generosity of the White Fathers whose General, Very Reverend Father Volker, caused the money necessary for its foundation and support to be collected in Europe. He asked the Society of Jesus to staff it and requested that the writer of this article should be appointed its Director. To this the General of the Society of Jesus most willingly agreed, as did the Provincial of the English Province of the Society. After a year spent looking for a site, an ideal property close to Victoria Station and accessible to all was found and acquired. The first course began in the Fall of 1960 with twelve students in residence. The second course, which began on October 2nd of this year, had been oversubscribed for some weeks before the opening date. Thirty students are in residence. Several were on the waiting list in the hope of claiming a last-minute vacancy. None occurred. At the time of writing (October, 1961), eleven places have already been reserved for the course which begins in October, 1962 and finishes at the end of June, 1963. By Christmas all will probably have been taken. Already, we are thinking in terms of another foundation. What else can we do? Universities in the Iron Curtain countries are claiming African students now by the thousands.

Students this year at Claver House come from ten English-speaking African countries. Kenya with eight stu-

dents heads the list with Tanganyika, which has a like number. Northern Rhodesia with five is third. Next comes Uganda with three; then, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Basutoland with one each. Lecturers consist of five priests—four of them Jesuits—and a first class team of dedicated Catholic lay lecturers, each chosen for his or her ability in a special field. The permanent staff of Claver House consists of three people—Fathers Paul Crane and C. M. Keane, S.J. and Mr. Hugh Kay, Assistant Editor of the *Catholic Herald*, who lectures in journalism, current affairs and the role of the layman in the life of the Church.

The course at Claver House is intensive. Students are submitted to three periods of lectures (always followed by a flow of questions and prolonged discussion) each weekday and two on Saturday mornings. Each weekday there is a further lecture-discussion period in the late afternoon. Roughly speaking, lectures are grouped into two categories. The object of the first is to instill and strengthen supernatural motive in the prospective lay leader. The second seeks to acquaint him with the necessary effective techniques which he must have if he is to get the Christian message across and thus influence his surroundings.

In the first group are the long and intensive lecture courses devoted to the meaningfulness of the Church and its doctrine and to thorough instruction in Catholic Social Teaching. In the second group are those taken up with such subjects as public speaking, action-group and trade union techniques, bookkeeping, journalism, social economics, current affairs, credit union and cooperative techniques, social development in

underdeveloped countries. The idea behind these two courses is that the African lay leader, recognizing the significance of his membership in the Church, which is the Body of Christ, should be not only motivated to make Christ incarnate in society but equipped with the know-how necessary to enable him to do so in a fashion that is, at one and the same time, concrete and immensely practical. It is this, I believe, which makes Claver House unique. So far as I know, nothing like it exists anywhere else in the world.

There is a final, all-important point to be made. Education is not only or primarily a matter of words. It is caught as well as taught. What counts at Claver House is not primarily the lectures but the life of the place itself. Suffice it to say in this context that it is something shared by black and white alike on a basis of equality that must be complete because rooted in Christ. Without this, Claver House would fail. With it, all is possible. There are other priceless supports of the life in Christ we strive to build here—the vacations spent by students with English Catholic families at Christmas and Easter, the companionship offered by Sodality cells and the splendid example of dedicated Catholic action presented by their members, the Catholic friends made everywhere, the trust placed in the students and the friendship offered from the very first moment they cross the threshold of the house which they are urged to consider as their home.

These things the students never forget. That which they give in return is such as to offer the greatest possible confidence in their future and that of the Church they will so ably represent.

THE WAY IT WAS: 6

RICHARD L-G. DEVERALL

IN THE ALMOST CHRONIC ANARCHY of the Catholic Worker movement, attracting as it did some very devout and sincere people along with some strange ones, we had paid little attention to the national political and the international scene. Peter Maurin had directed our attention to the back-to-the-land movement, the evils of capitalism, the curse of interest and moneylending and the big banks and to the need for a better deal for the workers and the minority groups, racial and religious. To be sure, the *Catholic Worker* was international in the sense that Peter and Dorothy Day drew heavily on British, German and French authors and movements as sources of the spiritual and intellectual formation provided to those of us who came to the *Worker* for inspiration and direction. But the *Catholic Worker*, as a publication and platform, paid not too much attention to the political scene or to the events that were transpiring beyond our borders.

During the depression, Japan had seized Manchuria and from 1931 world tension had been strained by the emergence of a Japanese military police state controlling what was renamed Manchukuo and by an increasingly bellicose rattling of the sabre from Tokyo. Adolf Hitler and the fanatics around him were

laughed at in the United States; indeed, some of the most intelligent persons dismissed Hitler in 1931-32 as a mad dog but a transient threat. I remember when I was the office boy at General Electric, being handed one day a thick and handwritten letter, addressed to Owen D. Young, which I was to transcribe on the typewriter. Although written in English, the handwriting was almost impossible to read and it took me days to pound out a sensible and readable "translation" of the letter. I was only 16 at the time but I remember that the writer, a certain Hjalmar Schacht, reminded Young that they had met in Germany: he described the menace of the National Socialists, the desperate financial plight of Weimar Germany and told Young that "unless we Germans can give an economic base to the Weimar Republic, this fanatic Hitler will inevitably seize our country. God knows what will happen. . ." The storm signals over Germany were not recognized. When FDR came to office in the semi-paralyzed United States, Hitler swept to power in Germany and launched that unfortunate country on the path to ruin.

During my Columbia University days, I became more aware of the impact of foreign events on our own coun-

try. It was more than obvious that America's own problems of a broad nature could only be solved on a world basis. But at this time (1934-35), the reaction to World War I was accelerated by charges—mainly from the left—that "merchants of death" (Du Pont, General Motors, etc.) had made enormous profits. From this it was inferred that in fact World War I and American participation in it had been the work of the munitions makers. At Dorothy's suggestion, I did considerable reading on the origins of World War I and was deeply impressed by the role played by British propaganda and the historic solidarity between Britain and the USA, based on color, religion and the common law. We had been, in fact, dragged into the First World War, I concluded; moreover, it had not been a war for democracy, as we had been told, but an imperialist struggle to destroy the German industrial machine and to give the German colonies to the other great powers, France and Britain. From this I developed, thanks to my readings on the Catholic principles of a just war, not a pacifism but a conscientious objection to war. I never believed in pacifism but I did insist that the individual should have a right to refuse to serve in a war which is manifestly unjust. From this the *Christian Front* developed the idea of a Referendum on War if and when a crisis arose, a perfectly romantic and, although I did not realize it at the time, perfectly impractical proposal.

The rise of Hitler, the rise of the Japanese militarists and the established tyranny of Mussolini and the crisis of the socio-economic system of the United States were followed by the Hundred Days of FDR. Disillusionment came within a few years. For one thing, big

business recovered and proved ungrateful that FDR had saved the capitalist system from itself; under the National Industrial Recovery Act and its Section 7-A, which encouraged trade union growth, the old AF of L worked hard but its system of carving up industrial workers along craft lines simply made it impossible to organize labor in the huge mass production industries which had emerged after World War I. Since the NIRA had inspired formation of company unions in many of the mass production industries, the radicals and liberals began to grumble that Roosevelt's actions were by no means as progressive as his language.



When *The Christian Front* was born the nine old men of the U. S. Supreme Court were substituting judicial opinion against legislative function. And with the mentality of the ruggedly individualistic capitalism of the 19th century, the Court began to strike down long overdue social legislation. We who watched the New Deal from day to day were surprised at the indecision and the weakness of its leadership in the face of the enormous power of the huge utility companies, Wall Street and big business in general. Roosevelt had come on the scene in 1932 as a radical, almost as a revolutionary; it became more apparent that he was a consummate politician, skillfully maneuvering the levers of power, without a total commitment to social ideals.

Realizing this, the *Catholic Worker*

and *The Christian Front* began to clamor for a re-ordering of American society by the action of organized groups. The inspiration was, of course, in that magnificent section in *Quadragesimo Anno* expounding the principle of subsidiarity. There the Holy Father had made the very simple yet profound observation that no higher organization or unit should do what a lower group or unit could do by itself. We seized on the credit union and cooperative movements as offering one way to solve some problems without too much intervention by Big Brother in Washington. The mass organization of trade unions and their socialization was, to us, a prime necessity.

In those days I wrote several critical articles and editorials about the American Federation of Labor and its leader, "Grandma" William Green. For after the skilled trades and the services had been organized, they found a niche in American society where they lived and lived fairly well. And yet there was stagnation; no more social or economic progressivism amongst some of the leaders of the AF of L than one could find in an empty bottle of beer. As we saw it and said it then, a trade union is one of the mightiest schools for democracy; as an organism motivated by the highest ideals and moral purposes, the trade union can also be an engine of social and economic revolution and not just an instrument for selfish gain. As I watched the trades fighting for jurisdiction, it seemed a pity that so many of the union leaders fought for peanuts when, had they had the vision, they could have expanded (as their European counterparts had) into social services, cooperative medicine, banking and all the rest of it. American labor in the mid-1930s had an opportunity

to bring a real revolution to the United States; instead, John L. Lewis chose to fight for political and union power and, in doing so, he split the house of labor from top to bottom. And this at a time when the average American was in revolt against the capitalist system and ready to follow any leadership that would bring a radical change. I was shocked to discover that so many of the leaders of the AF of L were Catholics. They were firm in the faith but dead from the neck up in terms of social progressivism.

Communist Party

Meanwhile, the minuscule Communist Party and the various hacks and social prostitutes who clustered about it were experiencing a growth which, during the New Deal, became fantastic. The tactic of the united front after 1935 gave it an opportunity to expand never since realized. I remember the formation of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Its publication *Fight* read well and it attacked our enemies (those who wanted war and fascism). Inevitably, one Joe Pass invited me up for lunch to discuss an article I was to write for *Fight*. I visited Comrade Pass in New York but ten minutes was enough to tell me that he was a Communist. I returned to Villanova to attack the League. Concurrently, Dorothy Day was worried by the clever Communist propaganda "extending the hand of friendship" to the Catholics. We talked about it and finally a friend from the Mount St. Mary's cell, Bob O'Donnell, joined with me in re-reading Lenin and then publishing through the *Catholic Worker* a pamphlet rejecting "the hand of friendship" not least on the ground of quotations directly

from Lenin. We were 15 years or more ahead of our times. Instead of making a fortune for exposing Communism, we were labelled "red baiters" and that was that. McCarthy and a collection of professional anti-Communists were later to make this sort of a thing a million-dollar business: for us it was a crusade against an enemy worse than Nazism.



The penetration of the New Deal agencies during 1936 and 1937—particularly the WPA, FERA, NYA—became more obvious. Weekends I was hitchhiking to Washington to meet with friendly groups at Catholic University and at Georgetown. Through friends there and through our patrons at NCWC we met many in government service who repeatedly warned against the Communist penetration of the Roosevelt Administration. We published highly factual articles on such movements as the American League and the Workers Alliance but, as I said, it was too early in the game. Americans seemingly wanted to be taken in by Moscow.

The Christian Front was just getting underway during the campaign of 1936, one of the most bizarre in our history. Father Coughlin had by now gone off the reservation and was consorting (if gingerly) with crackpots like Gerald L. K. Smith, the hillbilly preacher from Louisiana. (Years later, when we had nothing else to do in Detroit, late at night we would telephone Smith, wake him from his sleep to demand: "Is it

true you accepted \$500,000 from Adolf Hitler?" The preacher never failed with colorful language!) While FDR bided his time, the Republicans dug up a Kansan, a good and sincere man, Governor Alf M. Landon. Since he didn't really know what he believed other than that Roosevelt had done a not bad job so far, he was politically hopeless. FDR came in at the end and slugged Mr. Landon and the crackpot brigade which backed the third party candidate, Representative William Lemke. Yet although, as against Landon, I hoped FDR would win, my own feeling was that FDR had betrayed the revolution. I could not vote for a Republican; the Socialists were hopeless; in the upshot I didn't vote at all that year. In the *Front* we became increasingly critical of the Administration, particularly Wallace and his AAA. On the Court issue, however, the absolutely 19th century odor of the Justices' mentality led us to approve Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Court and end its anti-social complexion. FDR won the fight indirectly with the resignation of the more intransigent justices.

On the issue of war and peace, the announcement of FDR that he would "quarantine the aggressor" frightened not only liberal Catholics but the whole progressive movement, for the word "quarantine" hinted at the use of war in putting down Mad Adolf and the upstart Italian buffoon, Benito Mussolini. To complicate the issue, the Spanish Civil War which broke out during 1936 took on a completely international aspect. My sympathies in general were with the so-called Loyalists, especially with the Catalans and the Basques, but we also knew of the enormous aid coming from the USSR and the steady growth of Communist influence

amongst the warring group of anarchists, socialists and democrats who were the confused defenders of the Spanish Republic. Although the Catholic press in general went hog wild for Franco—pictures of Franco fingering rosary beads provided the flavor of some of the articles!—we took a position that there was good and evil on both sides and that men of good will had to think, and to think carefully, as to where justice was to be found. But above all we were convinced, as were many of our readers, that war was imminent and that Spain was serving the Fascist and Communist powers not only to test new weapons but to challenge the will to peace of the civilized world.

Given our objection to modern war and our lack of sympathy with a Britain which had helped arm Hitler in the beginning, appeased him and then attacked him, from 1938 on we were quite naturally one of the many Catholic groups who were bitterly opposed to American intervention in the coming war. I remember publishing an article in *America* on the eve of World War II which was prophetic. Unfortunately, both parties wanted a war. And so in 1940 Britain and her allies—wholly unprepared!—declared war on Nazi Germany without, in my estimation, having resorted to all measures short of war to solve the problem represented by Hitler and Mussolini and particularly in the face of a Communist theory by Lenin which frankly declared that war is a "locomotive of history." Hence, if there were a second war it would mean the ruination of some of the democracies and an upsurge of Communism. We were ahead of our time; and, anyhow, the crusade against World War II was romantic and hopeless.

In the labor field, one of the finest

things that Father Charles Coughlin did was to summon to his rectory one Sunday (I believe in 1935) a group of men then in charge of the various company unions in the auto industry. Dick Frankenstein, R. J. Thomas and others went out to talk to the then-popular Radio Priest. Father Coughlin gave them a long lecture on bona-fide trade unionism and accused them of being fakirs for letting the bosses fasten company unions on the workers of Detroit. "Organize, secede, form genuine free trade unions," Father Coughlin told them.



They did. And in due course, when the freed unions held a rally on Detroit's Belle Isle, the Radio Priest was on hand to praise them and to give weight to the burgeoning labor movement. But, as R. J. later related to me, Father Coughlin moved in on the boys and began to give orders. Having liberated themselves from company influence, they had no intention of submitting to clerical orders. That meant a break. Under flamboyant John L. Lewis (one of the greatest of all labor leaders), the Committee on Industrial Organization was launching a massive drive to organize all the mass production workers of the country. Father Coughlin and his *Social Justice* began to scream that the CIO was a Commie outfit.

It was no secret that when Lewis organized the CIO, the Communist trade

union organization dissolved its centre and turned its trained organizers over to the CIO. After several weeks of the bitter attacks from Detroit, I decided that something had to be done. I think it was Father MacGowan who advised a top approach and who made a contact for me with John Brophy, then Director of Organization. I met Brophy and told him that, although the CIO was organizing unions which were in the majority Catholic, a leading Catholic priest was castigating the movement as Communist controlled. John replied that Philip Murray, then organizing the steel workers, was an outstanding Catholic. We agreed that something had to be done. He referred me to Mr. Lewis.

As I waited in Mr. Lewis' small office on Connecticut Avenue, another man also waiting went in first, a chap with a large hook nose. His name was Harry Bridges and that day Mr. Lewis gave him a top job on the West Coast. I went in next and after Mr. Lewis got my name and seated me, I said briefly: "Mr. Lewis, I came here to tell you you are a fool." Lewis grunted, sat back in his chair and with a trace of a smile rumbled, "Young man, tell me why I am a fool!" I explained that as the editor of a lay Catholic magazine, catering to younger and liberal priests, I knew that few realized the CIO was virtually a Catholic organization and by no means a Commie outfit. I pointed out that Father Coughlin was hitting the CIO all over the place and that it was time someone told the story of the real CIO.

Lewis agreed. I told him that in one month I could turn the tide, give the CIO a good face with the Church and, indeed, get some Bishops to come out with nice words for the CIO. Lewis, I think, expected some enormous demand. I told him to finance a few issues of the

magazine for \$1,000, let me visit Pittsburgh, and I would knock myself out to get support for the CIO and a proper baptism. Lewis merely said: "See Tom Kennedy. He'll give you the money." This unexpected manna from Heaven was more than welcome. I hitchhiked to Pittsburgh and spent some time with Father Charles Rice and through him had my first meeting with this canny Scotsman Philip Murray, who called me "sonny" for the next ten years. I returned to Washington to interview Brophy, a devotee of Cardinal Newman and the Church Fathers. Within the month we had published our first article, "*John Brophy Speaks*," which was widely reprinted by the Catholic press. Meanwhile, I had a cautious letter from the Archbishop of Detroit who said, "I am told that the Communists control the CIO. Can you prove why that is not true?" I replied. His Excellency asked more questions and the correspondence grew. Then I heard from Bishop Robert Lucey, again seeking for information. When we went down the roster of the Catholics in the CIO with key positions, and told the bishops about men like Phil Murray and John Brophy, the inaccurate attacks by *Social Justice* were not only debunked but they stopped. I think even Lewis was surprised. When the CIO met in convention that year, a wonderful message came in from Bishop Lucey. That night I met Brophy. "How did you do it?" he asked. Frankly, I had nothing to do with it. The bishop had sought information by himself and he took his stand.

But more of this in the next chapter, for during this hectic hurly-burly period of the CIO and the second New Deal the Catholic hierarchy and the priests had begun to respond to the new situation in a most remarkable way.

A 15-year old policy

Full Employment and Economic Progress

RAYMOND F.X. CAHILL, S.J.

ON THE HEELS of the Great Depression and the Second World War we passed the Employment Act of 1946. This is, then, the fifteenth anniversary of that declaration of national purpose.

The long depression had stimulated the thinking of economists and focused it on means of avoiding mass unemployment, with its appalling waste and misery in the face of potential plenty. Prior to this period there had been no consensus about the desirability or effectiveness of government action in countering the downward swing of the business cycle. In fact, the prevailing idea was that the automatic forces of the market place, inexorable laws of supply and demand, would inevitably provide the remedy without any governmental intervention. The appearance, however, of John Maynard Keynes' *General Theory*¹ in 1936 gave a new direction to economic thought and set in motion discussion, arguments which revolved around the relationship between spending, revenue policies and full employment. Well be-

fore the United States entered World War II, there was fairly widespread agreement among economists that government action could prevent serious depressions.

World War II which brought to an end the mass unemployment of the 1930s exerted its influence. Armageddon found employment reaching heights hitherto unknown with governments, and the United States government in particular, spending billions of dollars. This dramatic object lesson gave support to the ideas springing from the Keynesian well of theory.

While the grim events of war were marching into the pages of history, people anticipating a depression following conversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy, began to ask pointed questions: "Why this sacrifice?" "Must we return to the same old blighted situation we had before the war?" It is one of the quirks of history that Winston Churchill, the man of the half-century, had no answer to these questions; as a result, at the close of the hostilities, he lost a general election to a far

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¹ *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Harcourt Brace, New York, 1936.

lesser man. Answers were offered, however. The Beveridge Report came out during the War to be followed by the British White Paper, the Canadian White Paper and the Australian White Paper. All these documents set up a goal of Jobs for All—Full Employment.



As an answering echo to these efforts from abroad, our Congress brought forth the Employment Act of 1946. Bravely, the preamble of the Act states its purpose:

The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy, with the assistance and co-operation of industry, agriculture, labor, and state and local governments, to co-ordinate and to utilize all its plans, functions and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare, conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

Even a cursory reading of this preamble indicates that the law does not obligate our government to any particular course of action. It is to use the means considered "practicable" in the

circumstances. It is not aiming at "full employment" regardless of consequences. It seeks the "maximum" employment that is compatible with maximum production and the maximum soundness of our money. Involved are goals proposing greater economic well-being, greater equality of income, growth, stability, a concern for the private enterprise system and an over-all idea of social utility. This complexity of objectives is neatly captured and stated by Alvin Hansen:

In our modern, highly complicated economic order we are continually in danger. It is not easy to keep the system in balance. That involves not only fiscal and monetary controls, but also, among other things, a balanced wage and price policy, control of monopoly, promotion of high productivity, technical progress and, above all, social unity and cohesiveness. Stability, maximum production, and full employment are not easily achieved goals.²

Briefly then, the Employment Act of 1946 cast into the form of a law a set of objectives admittedly complex and cited as means that things be done which would seem practicable in the given circumstances. To scout out the practicable means and to advise the executive branch of the government in particular, the law established a Council of Economic Advisors.

What are the inner meanings of this legislation? The general purpose of the Act aims at "maximum employment." Just what does this mean? Does it mean that every single person ready and willing to work must have the opportunity to do so? Does it mean that there is not a person unemployed—housewife, student or part-time employee? No—it is virtually impossible to attain this kind of full employment. During World War II, when we had (if anything),

² *Economic Policy and Full Employment*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1947.

over-employment, the Bureau of Census reported that some 500,000 to a million were unemployed. According to the American Economic Association

Full employment means that qualified people who seek jobs at prevailing wage rates can find them in productive activities without considerable delay. It means full-time jobs for people who want to work full time. It does not mean that people like housewives and students are under pressure to take jobs when they do not want jobs, or that workers are under pressure to put in undesired overtime. It does not mean that unemployment is ever zero.³

Allowing, then, for variations in points of view, tolerable percentages of unemployed are considered consistent with the idea of full employment. Generally, three or four per cent unemployed is considered a matter of small concern.

Actually making work for people presents no great problem. Russia does it. Hitler did it. Pyramid building in Egypt, the construction of cathedrals in the middle ages, the arranging of stone fences in New England stand as evidences that work can be provided for people which will keep them busy at all times. The problem arises when we endeavor to provide work in such a way as to maintain the rest of the objectives cited among our goals. We seek not merely full employment but the fostering of the free enterprise system, stability, growth and progress.

Through the years we have gradually built up an armory of tools which may be applied toward the achieving of our full employment and stability goals. These may be considered under two main headings: monetary and fiscal.

³ Committee of the American Economic Association, "The Problem of Economic Instability," *American Economic Review*, 40 (September, 1950), p. 506.

The monetary means are largely under the direction of the Federal Reserve System. They include tools for combatting inflation and deflation. Through Open Market Operations and by adjusting the reserve ratio and the rediscount rate of member banks, the Open Market Committee is able to increase or decrease the volume of money in circulation and thus effect the expansion or contraction of the economy. If, for example, the Federal Reserve authorities decide that the nation faces an imminent threat of inflation, they may initiate a policy of selling securities from the Reserve Banks to the member banks and from the member banks to the public. This type of action serves to siphon money from the treasuries of member banks and from the hands of the public, reducing the volume of money and thus tightening credit potential.

If, because of an imminent deflation, the Federal Reserve authorities desire to encourage a policy of expansion of the economy, they could simply reverse the process: reserve banks would buy securities from member banks and from the public, thus loosening the supply of money and credit available. The central principle here is very simple: when a bank buys anything, the money supply is increased because more money is put into circulation; when a bank sells a bond, for example, the money supply is diminished because it has been bought for money by someone.

Similarly the Federal Reserve Board has the function of determining the reserve requirements of the member banks. As originally established, the member bank reserve requirements were static. The 1913 law required a Central Reserve City Bank (a member in New York or Chicago, for example) to

maintain cash amounting to 13 per cent of its demand deposits; a Reserve City Bank was required to maintain a ratio of 10 per cent; and a country bank, 7 per cent. In 1935 the Federal Reserve Board of Governors was given the power to determine the ratio of cash to deposits within certain limits. Thus, for a Central Reserve City Bank, the reserve requirements could be moved from 13 per cent to 26 per cent or set at any point between. The range for a Reserve City Bank went from 10 per cent to 20 per cent and for a country bank from 7 per cent to 14 per cent. Thus, given the power to double the reserve requirements, the Federal Reserve Board of Governors found a powerful tool in its hands for controlling the monetary part of the economic machine. This power enables the Federal Reserve to reduce or increase the excess reserves of the member banks and thus to control the volume of deposits. As an influence for expansion or contraction, this tool can indeed be a powerful factor.

Adjusting rediscount rate

Similarly, the Federal Reserve System may stimulate or discourage an expansion of credit by adjusting the rediscount rate. This is the rate at which the Federal Reserve bank discounts the commercial paper (*i.e.* the short term business loans of the community) which it purchases from member banks. If this rate is increased by the Federal Reserve to its member banks, these banks in turn must increase the interest rate which they charge the public. Thus, the increase in the rate slows building and puts a brake on expansionist forces. By lowering the rediscount rate, the opposite effect is achieved. In

earlier times this tool was considered adequate to control the economy. Now it is recognized as one of a number of tools.

The precise effectiveness of this or that tool is a matter of conjecture. Authorities argue about the timing in the use of various tools and about the degree of use in order to achieve a particular effect. The actual history of the use of various tools is meager and the evidence which may be drawn from such history is inconclusive. There is general agreement that the tools are there, that they are powerful, and that they should be used. The agreement, too, extends to the need for further research in order to improve the state of our knowledge and, consequently, to grow in our efficient use of all these tools.

The Treasury Department of the federal government also exercises controls over the economy and so influences employment realities. This department operates under a closer control of Congress, which sets the tax rates and votes appropriations for various projects. The Treasury's grants of power are more sensitive to *ad hoc* directions than is the case with the Federal Reserve. Even so, on issues of spending and revenue, the discretion of the Treasury operates with vital effect. Particularly with regard to the timing of spending and in recommending tax cuts or tax raises, the role of the Treasury may constitute a most effective control on the contour of the business cycle.

Obviously, the relative importance of government spending in the economy has increased enormously over the years. From a mere 7 per cent of the dollar volume of the nation's output in 1911, governmental expenditures rose to 10 per cent in 1929 and to 26 per cent in

1957. The power of the spending and revenue policies of the government, then, is immense. It would be child's play to spend our way into full employment. Our task is to attain full employment without prejudice to our other objectives.

In thinking of the Treasury tools, it is well to note that spending can be reduced and taxes increased to produce a cash surplus in the budget. Government debt can be reduced, particularly that held by the commercial banks. Treasury savings bonds may be offered to the public and non-commercial bank investors. Tax policy can be aimed at restricting demand without restricting production. Government spending can be postponed, particularly on public works. All of these means may be employed to fight inflation. Reverse the process and the fight is against deflation.

These tools, which are in the hands of the Treasury, do not exhaust the armory of weapons. Other actions of the federal government are important. Thus the tariff policy, farm program, aid to underdeveloped nations, missile research and manufacture considerably affect the motion of business. Structural social changes have aided efforts to work in a contra-cyclical manner. In a recession consumer spending—and thus production—is buttressed by the money available to retired workers through old age pensions. Unemployment benefits, too, not only alleviate the hardship of the jobless; they help sustain the whole economy. And it should be noted that about 80 per cent of those who work for wages are covered by unemployment insurance.⁴

⁴ See Arthur F. Burns, "Progress Towards Economic Stability," *American Economic Review*, V/L (March, 1960).

Could we check a downward spiral in business activity? Is it generally believed that, in the face of a major deflation, a resort to our armory of monetary and fiscal policies would be necessary. This would mean that the Federal Reserve System would employ its various devices aiming at expansion and that the Treasury, acting under Congress, would resort to public works and reduced taxes. In addition, all built-in contra-cyclical factors, such as increased unemployment benefits, automatic decreases in income taxes, the increase in oldsters going on pensions, etc., would add the weight of their influence. Other governmental policies would be shaped to dovetail with the all out effort to move in counter-cyclical fashion. Upon the forces thus marshalled rests our confidence that we have the means necessary and adequate to avoid a disastrous deflation and to maintain employment.



As one reviews this imposing array of tools in the hands of the monetary and fiscal managers, one may mistakenly conclude that the problem is solved. This is not so. The proper and adequate solution to the problem runs the whole gamut of economic life. Involved in the solution are the proper balance of wages, prices and profits, union-management negotiations, the control of monopoly, government regulation of business, forecasting, timing and planning.

Imperiling all efforts to maintain a steadily expanding economy, one assuring maximum employment, is the virus of inflation which some (depending on one's political preferences) situate in unjustified wage increases, won by monopolistic trade unions, and others attribute to administered prices, forced on the public by industrial oligopolies.

It is certain that we will have to have a larger economic statesmanship in evidence when unions and managements negotiate if we are to avoid a continuing round of wage increases leading to increases in prices, thus jeopardizing all hopes to maintain full employment with stability and growth. In the issue of a proper balance between wages, prices and profit the interests of society as a whole are at stake.

Question of monopolies

The question of monopolies, moreover, must be faced up to. It must be examined as a possible basis for unreasonable prices and, also, as an issue of public policy.

For years the growth of large scale enterprise continued without challenge. Even after the passage of the Sherman Act and the other anti-trust laws, we do not have a clearly reasoned and generally accepted code of law to guide in this area. We have witnessed a case by case approach in the courts with the law of the land being forged by a series of judicial interpretations. As a people, we have been tardy in working toward a consensus on the fundamental issues. How much competition do we desire? How much power are we willing to permit in the hands of private corporations? How much control over supply and price is consonant with our general purposes in economic life? Mr. Edwin

G. Nourse looking over this particular difficulty recommends the following:

1. An integration of our sprawling and confused anti-trust statutes under a basic policy law.
2. Pressure for enforcement through various agencies.
3. Realistic studies by the economic profession of the fundamental theory of large scale enterprise.
4. A systematic education whereby all the salient ideas would reach the individuals concerned.⁶

Mr. Nourse is of the opinion that we should move slowly in this area because of the numerous cloudy issues. He thinks that we would do well to limit any new law to a statement of principles and purpose, depending upon the judiciary to articulate our policy step by step. Obviously, this is a knotty issue. The writings of Berle and Mason on the place of the corporation in modern society make clear the tremendous work which remains to be done.⁷

A collateral complication in our endeavor to shape a sound public policy for economic growth with maximum employment is the fear that increasing government intervention will result in statism.

"Keynes has made Marx unnecessary." Father Bernard Dempsey was fond of quoting Oskar Lange to this effect.⁸ The implication is that the state will grow into a leviathan and swallow up all the minor and local functions one after another. Such a fear cannot be dismissed lightly. It has, however, in one form

⁶ "Some Questions Emerging Under the Employment Act," *American Economic Review*, V/L (May, 1960), 138.

⁷ Edward S. Mason, Editor, *The Corporation in Modern Society*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959; Adolph A. Berle, *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1954; Adolph A. Berle, *Power Without Property*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1959.

⁸ B. W. Dempsey, *The Frontier Wage*, Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1960, pp. 151-152.

or another been used to argue against every bit of progressive social legislation. With proper political vigilance, it does not seem that a program of fiscal policy for "full employment" must lead to statism. In fact, a development into statism could take place without a full employment fiscal policy. Arthur Smithies shrewdly observes that the shorter route to statism may come by permitting a prolonged spell of mass unemployment.⁸



In *Mater et Magistra* the Holy Father notes that "the public authorities must not remain inactive, if they are to promote in a proper way the productive development in behalf of social progress for the benefit of all the citizens." The Pope points out that with the continuing development of scientific knowledge and productive technology, public authorities more or less inevitably "feel the need not only to exercise in the field of economics a multiform action, at once more vast, more profound, more organic, but also it is required for this same end, that they give themselves suitable structures, tasks, means, and methods." The avoidance of mass unemployment should be one of the chief concerns of modern government. The means and tools herein reviewed represent the effort of this government to attain this purpose. To condemn such efforts with the cry of "statism" amounts to a slothful method of avoiding an examination of the facts of the case. On the other hand, counsel that the government move into a commanding position

⁸ See "Federal Budgeting and Fiscal Policy," in *Survey of Contemporary Economic Theory*, Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 177.

in decreeing and supervising a proper balance of wages, prices and profits is disquieting. Our experience with limited governmental controls under the National Recovery Act, the Office of Price Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Act and even our history of public utility and railroad regulation raises doubts on the ability of the government to perform this essential role in a satisfactory and efficient manner.

Our present situation finds us recovering in business activity and yet we are afflicted with five and a half million unemployed. The present Administration campaigned on the issue, and would like to cut the number of unemployed from seven to three per cent, if possible. Differences of opinion exist on how much unemployment is tolerable, how much of an inflationary bias should be admitted in applying the means to insure "full employment." Arthur F. Burns, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, has accused the advisors of the present Administration of espousing a "new stagnation theory." By aligning such advisors with the Alvin Hansens of 1938, Dr. Burns throws the weight of his authority behind the counsel of going slow on spending, because shortly the economy will be rolling along at top speed. More spending now will produce the sorrow of inflation later. Dr. Walter Heller, current Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, differs on the degree and duration of the measures necessary to produce full employment.

Such differences are natural enough. They are to be expected and need not be a cause for grave concern. They stand in the area of educated guesses. There is no sure-fire basis for a policy which covers the extent of the use of the tools or their timing. The basis must

be the estimate of the way that the economy is going to turn. More cause for concern arises from the fact that we have over the years been violating one of the basic precepts of sound fiscal policy, *i.e.* surplus in good times to cover the deficit in bad times. We simply have not been able to build that surplus in good times. The constant and threatening fact of the cold war, the fight for the conquest of space, aid to underdeveloped nations, these world factors have presented their expensive bills and have prevented the monetary and fiscal managers from following the basic precept of theory. This is not surprising. After all, the situation is the reflection in our budget in balances of the costs of the life and death East-West struggle.



In conclusion, then, we note that we made it a matter of official national policy, monetary and fiscal means, to insure full employment without inflation and without prejudice to our free enterprise system. The tools give us grounds for hoping that any major depression will be avoided. Their precise effectiveness, the degree and amount to which they are to be employed, as well as the next swing of the business cycle are matters of uncertainty, an ambiguity which conditions the employment of the tools. The demands of the world

situation limit the power of monetary and fiscal managers to adopt policies which otherwise would seem to be dictated by the circumstances. With all of these limiting factors in full view, we have embarked on a course which seems truly just and proper.

And what has all of this to do with the question of social order? The question of full employment and the means being used to effect it are absolutely central to economic and social stability and progress. All means to alleviate the impact of a depression, all the measures to improve and better the situation are of little avail if the millions of workers are jobbers, if we have "want in the midst of plenty." As Father Cronin remarks in his comments on *Mater et Magistra*.

There are also measures of economic control, especially those designed to iron out the business cycle. . . . The Pope assumes that a central economic body, whether a central bank or a branch of the government, will exercise needed monetary controls to prevent inflation and deflation.⁹

One might ask: "Does the Employment Act of 1946 satisfy all the recommendations which we find in the Encyclicals?" Any approximation of an answer would imply a comparison of the ideology underlying these peculiarly American goals and institutions with the social philosophy of the Church. The beginnings of an analysis might well start with an examination of the President's commission on National Goals.¹⁰ Briefly, one might say that, while the encyclicals make room for such legislation and praise the intention and purpose of it, much more remains in the Church's treasury of social philosophy to further a sound social order.

⁹ SOCIAL ORDER, 11 (September, 1961), 29, 30.

¹⁰ *Goals for Americans*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood, N.J., 1960.

The New City

Arthur C. Marlow

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THE CENSUS OF 1960 disclosed that nearly one quarter of the population lived in the twelve largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Except for Los Angeles, most of the core cities of these SMSA's remained stationary or actually lost population between 1950 and 1960, while the suburbs on the peripheries of the dozen giant cities reported the greatest increases. The trends observed in the last three decennial enumerations indicate that increased population concentrations in the future will be in the large and extremely large metropolitan communities.

This population movement is only one of the reasons for the increased interest in the metropolitan complex since World War II. Without attempting to be exhaustive, other factors of great concern to students of urban problems include budgeting and fiscal affairs, the economic decline of the central city, the perplexing problem of intergovernmental relations and, perhaps most important of all, the political process. In the past 15 years more than one hundred communities have been surveyed by teams of researchers. At the same time the functional specialists have sought to push back the frontiers in their disciplines. Consequently, the literature has become voluminous.

This volume is a collection of essays focused on city planning in large cities.¹ About half of the contributors are professional planners, the remaining come

from the fields of economics, history, political science and philosophy. Several of the papers are broadly conceived and well developed. Oscar Handlin's "The Social System" presents a valuable synthesis of material in social history. He notes that gains in per capita income and the increased incidence of real property ownership have given a larger share of the population a vested interest. While these advances were taking place, the areas of individual choice were reduced and greater pressures for mass conformity were observed.

Another interesting paper, "The Political Implications of Metropolitan Growth," by Edward Banfield offers a comparison of American and British experience in large city politics. Although the Labour Party has controlled the London County Council for more than 25 years, no one with the social philosophy of a "Hinky-Dink" Kenna has served on the Council. "The ethos of governing bodies, then, has been middle or upper class, even when most of the members have been lower class."

In contrast, Banfield states:

The government of American cities has for more than a century been almost entirely in the hands of the working class. This class, moreover, has had as its conception of a desirable political system one in which people are "taken care of" with jobs, favors, and protection, and in which class and ethnic attributes get recognition. The idea that there are values, such as efficiency which pertain to the community as a whole and to which the private interest of individuals ought to be subordinated has never impressed the working-class voters.

¹ THE FUTURE METROPOLIS. Edited by Lloyd Rodwin. George Braziller, New York, 253 pp. \$5.

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He concludes his analysis with a forecast of change in both political systems: the deferential attitude of the lower class will gradually disappear in Britain. American city dwellers of lower status, moreover, are likely to assimilate the middle-class understanding of what constitutes the public interest.

In one of the more technical essays, Aaron Fleisher writes that towards the middle of the next 50-year period a city of 25 million can exist. He states, "About five times New York's capacity is a reasonable estimate, and this looks easily attainable from the present capabilities of the large seaport cities, without any substantial increase in the unit cost." It is his belief that by the end of the next half century a city may number 50 million. One can anticipate the reaction of Lewis Mumford to these projections.

Taken as a whole, the contributions of the planners appear to envisage a 20th century Camelot, where happy urbanites will live in modern housing and work in a beautiful city with many green parks and ample recreational facilities; there will be excellent schools, good transportation, all anchored to a diversified industrial base. Local governments will provide increasingly higher levels of service. This outlook is utopian and conflicts sharply with the realities of political behavior. The gap between the professional planner and the citizen is wide. Until a better understanding is achieved, we can anticipate the defeat of more bond issues and the amendment of increasing numbers of master plans.

Political scientists can profit from reading this book. The tremendous change in our cities since 1910 should make even the most cautious read these papers with care.

Books



THE UNITED NATIONS: Constitutional Developments, Growth, and Possibilities.
By Benjamin V. Cohen, Harvard Univ. Press. 106 pp. \$2.75

In 100 condensed, cogently argued pages, Mr. Cohen traces the fifteen year record of the United Nations. His attitude is one of practical realism tempered with measured optimism. Originally delivered as the Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures at Harvard Law School in April, 1961, the material is presented here in three compact chapters. The first deals with the competence of the various UN organs and the significant interpretations of Charter powers which have occurred in the course of constitutional development. These liberal interpretations, like those of Marshall and Holmes in the case of our own constitution, have fostered the organic growth of the organization in the face of unforeseen exigencies and challenges. Included among the latter are: the effect of abstention by one of the permanent members in Security Council voting; the method of distinguishing procedural from substantive matters; the requirement of big power unanimity; the shift to the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950; the meaning of the "right of intervention" conferred in Article 2, paragraph 7. The author, predictably, finds that it is not the Charter that prevents the United Nations from expanding its activities to such critical problem areas as arms control and the cessation of nuclear testing, but the "lack of a working consensus among the Member States."

A second chapter on the responsibilities of members makes important clarifications and constructive, if controversial, suggestions and predictions. It is pointed out, for example, that the power of U.N. organs to *recommend* action or the compliance of member states does not include the competence to *compel* compliance or *command* action. When the United Nations inter-

venes to end hostilities, as it did in the Middle East, it must also search for the grievances which provoked the fighting in the first place and seek realistic means of reducing aggravation on both sides.

Mr. Cohen notes the current prediction that "the credentials of the delegates of the People's Republic of China will be accepted in the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Assembly in the fall of 1961, and the delegates from Red China will be accepted as the representatives of China." He suggests that the United States try to persuade the Nationalist government to renounce its claim to the mainland and settle for separate membership as the state of Formosa.

At present, the United Nations reflects the turmoil and disorder of a world adjusting to revolutionary changes. How to make the fundamental law of the Charter more effective in such difficult circumstances is the subject of the final chapter of the book. Sovereign states ought to address themselves to the overriding task of developing a consensus on broad approaches to explosive international tensions. High level conferences held at the United Nations might be useful for joint exploration by the West and the Soviet Union of "the essential rules and conditions of peaceful coexistence."

Mr. Cohen has no simple answer to the root problem of how to handle disputes on which the Big Powers are irreconcilably divided. He admits that all efforts to work out a reasonable consensus may fail but refuses to abandon the project on that account. He seems at times to underestimate or discount the comprehensive, systematic doctrinal underpinning of the Soviet power structure which is so contradictory to the whole tradition of the West. He is not, however, unmindful of the mortal danger to the United Nations which would result from a weakening of the office of the Secretary-General.

It is certainly true that the survival of the world organization and perhaps of mankind depends upon the development of a profound and shared feeling of worldwide community based on the human dignity of the individual person. The magnitude of the task is an indication of the wisdom, dedication and determination which must go into its implementation.

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RACE AND SCIENCE. Columbia University Press, New York. 506 pp. \$5

This is a one-volume encyclopedia on the subject. And just about the best thing available.

First published in individual brochures by UNESCO, then as a book under the title of the series of brochures, "The Race Question in Modern Science," also by UNESCO, this series of outstanding essays is now republished by Columbia University Press.

In general, this volume excellently covers the whole spectrum of racial problems, their origins, and (without specifically giving recipes) their solutions.

I shall candidly assume the relatively totalitarian role of the reviewer and select two of the essays for special treatment, giving the others brief notices.

"The Roots of Prejudice," by Arnold M. Rose, of the University of Minnesota, portrays the whole gamut of prejudice and its causes. Rationalization of economic or political domination, the inflation of the ego, the use of stereotypes, psychological mechanisms of frustration-aggression, plus symbolism, are topics to be adjudged against the costs of prejudice. An action program is spelled out. Perhaps one can with difficulty cavil because religion is omitted; after all, the title of the book includes only race and science. This is the first essay I should read, were I vitally interested in inter-racial activity.

The second essay I should read would be "Racial Myths," written by a Mexican anthropologist of first rank, Juan Comas. We should clearly evaluate very many racial myths: the myth of racial superiority in our Southern American States (and, of old,

in Nazi Germany); the myth of blood (hardly dead yet!); the myth of the evil effects of race-crossing; the myth of the pure race; the myth of the Jewish race and the Aryan race and, for that matter, of the Anglo-Saxon or the Celtic races.

From the point of view of achieving perspective, this essay is a gold mine.

To revert to a series of brief comments on the other essays as they occur:

"Race and Society" by Kenneth Little especially highlights the economic element. And an important element it is. It was important in the past (and in the development of the modern attitude towards race); it will be important in the future.

"The Jewish People: A Biological History" by Harry L. Shapiro is a case-history. Long, detailed and complete, this essay is the best publication I know of on the subject.

"Race and History", by Claude Lévi-Strauss, is one of the most important sections of the book, particularly from a theoretical point of view. His remarks on culture change, ethnocentrism, the concept of progress and the "superiority" of cultures will also make us think more deeply about the general American scene.

L. C. Dunn introduces the biological section with "Race and Biology." There is some overlapping here with the subsequent paper of Dr. Shapiro but the fundamental biological nature of race is expertly analyzed. "The Significance of Racial Differences" by G. M. Morant shows at great length how minimal these differences are. "Race Mixture" Dr. Shapiro's second contribution, distinguishes between the biological and social consequences of this process, showing that biologically the results are usually for the better, although social effects may be for the worse at times.

Part Three deals with the psychology of race. After Rose's paper, we have the expected competent job done by Otto Klineberg on "Race and Psychology." It still remains true, as Klineberg quotes Mill: "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences upon the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences."

Marie Jahoda employs psychoanalytic

theory in her "Race Relations and Mental Health", dealing at the end of the piece with the intriguing question: "Is Prejudice Inevitable?"

There is one paper I have not mentioned, saving it for the end to emphasize the fact that if I had to give a student one paper from this book which would in a brief time bring him to the heart of the matter, I should choose Michel Leiris' "Race and Culture." He could safely adjudge racial problems in the clear light of this essay.

The word "race" has been so bandied about by the worthy and the unworthy and has achieved so many denotations and connotations, that I wish we could eliminate it from the English language. Mine is no doubt a losing cause, so the next best is to exhort one and all to keep striving for the straightening out of ideas. In this crusade, science has a powerfully large contribution to make, and this contribution is well set forth in *Race and Science*.

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THE SEMI-SOVEREIGN PEOPLE. By E. E. Schattschneider. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York. 147 pp. \$1.75

THE NEW AMERICA. By Karl E. Meyer. Basic Books, New York. 206 pp. \$4.50

Both of these books are variants on the current U.S. preoccupation with "what is wrong with our system?" Professor Schattschneider is a past President of the American Political Science Association, Mr. Meyer is a Ph.D. political journalist with the *Washington Post*.

The Semi-Sovereign People, the U.S. public, for Professor Schattschneider, is only a partially-alive body politic some 40 per cent of which has no real stake in the vital political issues. The reason is that the controlling organizations have found no means to insure full participation in the process. This group is potentially upsetting or even revolutionary. Regardless, its existence points up the failures in our system which basically represents only the conflict between business and non-business interests. Not only are the sole two organizations controlling the game, the po-

litical parties, to blame but the intelligentsia is also. The latter have continued to obscure the need for a realistic view of democracy with shibboleths about the participation of the common man, opinion polls, group interests and pressure group theories mixed with moralistic slogans. Professor Schattschneider is at his best in cutting through the fog of popular and academic self-evidencies in contrast with hard correlations of property ownership and political participation. For example, there is a striking correlation between T.V. sets, telephone and other material possessions and the 40 per cent non-participating members of our civic body.

The Semi-Sovereign People is only implicitly concerned with moral theory; it is realism, a practical analysis. Its pretensions to a theory of American politics will not satisfy the moral theorist. The book, however, drives home the irrelevancy of theory unrelated to contemporary practice. In this respect it is relevant.

Mr. Meyer's book, subtitled "Politics And Society In The Age Of The Smooth Deal" pictures the smooth deal of conformity, passivity, *La Dolce Vita*, etc., as the *bête noire* of the U.S. Technique not substance is the genius of the smooth deal. *The New America*, as with so many variations on the same theme, raises the spectre of a subtle movement toward an Orwellian, democratic totalitarianism of the spirit. The press techniques, the pollster and the machine pollster, the bureaucrat, the collapse of a third party impetus, Madison avenue, the move of the Bohemian uptown as well as countless sordid elements of our culture are repeatedly emphasized in hard, pungent, sardonic prose. Mr. Meyer is a master of this description. Epigrams and good stories abound in this very readable book.

Only occasionally does *The New America* acknowledge a counter trend. The author explicitly disavows any intention to an "impartiality" in his conviction that things are so bad that counter emphasis would reduce the effectiveness of the message as an appeal for a saner way of life. As does Professor Schattschneider, Mr. Meyer calls for a re-evaluation but offers few concrete solutions beyond intelligence and good will. With this in itself one can-

not quarrel. *The New America* is realist.

However, are there no latent potentialities or real manifestations of decency in our society which should be emphasized, at least for balanced intellectual judgment? If there are such, then from whence do these elements arise? With all due respect to Professor Schattschneider, Mr. Meyer and the need for criticism before reform, we do need a positive realism—not only for balance but for intelligent hope.

JOHN M. PHELPS
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LIFE, DEATH AND THE LAW. By

Norman St. John-Stevas. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind. 375 pp.

\$5.95

The relationship between civil law and morality, a subject exciting profound human disquietude through the centuries, can be viewed from many perspectives. It is politics and philosophy and phenomena; in their own peculiar way, Kennedy, Kinsey and Kelsen find the topic a compelling one. So various are the guises that the subject encompasses the martyrdom of Thomas More and the noble experiment of prohibition; the Edict of Constantine, and the *McCollum* case.

In this book a lucid young English lawyer, Norman St. John-Stevas, explores some of the implications that Christian morality and law in a pluralistic society have for each other in certain specific areas. He treats in compact, readable form the subjects of birth control, artificial insemination, homosexuality, suicide, sterilization and euthanasia. His frame of reference is the existing juridical and moral situations in the United States and England. The approach is an inductive one, with emphasis upon the present legal mechanisms for the handling of these problems and a summary of prevalent Christian views concerning both the morality of the practices and the law's involvement with them. An initial chapter addresses itself to a more fundamental analysis of the relationship between these modes of guiding human conduct.

The outstanding value of the book is the clarity and succinctness with which the specific problems are detailed and the

competing moral outlooks summarized. One has only to consider the difficulty of that task in the six areas of endeavor to appreciate the skill with which it is done. Rational discourse among Christians, and between Christians and others, is immensely facilitated by the competent marshalling of information and viewpoints. Further, Mr. St. John-Stevas draws conclusions which are always impressively reasonable on whether Christian attitudes on these problems ought to seek, or need to seek, embodiment in the law.

With this said, one may add that the predominant flavor of the book is one of practical politics. The strength of the analysis of the law-morals relationship is in its negatives rather than in any elucidation of the positive nexus. The author is at his best when demonstrating that the law has no mandate to police immoral acts as such, that the fields of ethics and legislation are not identical, that the effectiveness of law depends as much on discussion and consensus as on fiat and power in a pluralistic democratic state, that the attempt to implement moral viewpoints by legal sanctions may entail methods which themselves are questionable.

All of these judgments are important and valid; they are highly valuable, too, the more so as they are applied to specific controversies vexing the modern Christian. Nevertheless, they tell us more of the distinction between law and morals than they do of the relationship. Indeed, the author tells us explicitly that he does not aim for such a goal, if in fact he thinks it feasible. He believes that the common desire of all Christians to contain the exercise of power within a moral order can be achieved through the principle of the common good. But what is meant by that chameleon term, he tells us, is not the *bonum universale* but the common conscience of a community (in the words of John Henry Newman, society's "common possession"). In this view, the law serves in appropriate cases to make effective the prevailing moral view.

As a sociological truth or a truism, this has immense significance. For one thing, it ought to warn Christians against the debilitating complacency of belief that the law necessarily stands as the sole or pre-

dominant guarantor of a Christian culture. On the other hand, an uncritical acceptance of this notion by Christians as an ultimate principle of accommodation between law and morals can contribute to a type of fatalism about law and the role it has to play in man's life. Law is not primarily the sum total of community opinion on an issue, either ideally or in fact; the complexity of any viable legal structure, with its constitution and distinct power groups, contradicts such an opinion. And though law cannot legislate morality, it is an oversimplification to suggest that it merely reflects it. To some extent reason plays its part in the law not only by assessing sentiments, measuring the pragmatics of contingencies, but also by exerting a pull toward the qualitative judgment. This is so, ultimately, because of the moral foundations of law as a system of social purposes. Of all this, of course, the author is keenly aware, though he chooses to put his emphasis elsewhere for his present purpose. Thus, these comments are less a criticism of a brilliantly researched book than a characterization of its self-imposed limitations.

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THE CAMPUS AND THE COMMUNITY:

The Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement. By Alexander F. Laidlaw. Harcourt, Brace, New York. 173 pp. \$5.50 cloth, \$2.75 paper.

For many years the story of the Antigonish Movement has been carrying hope and constructive policy to distant quarters of the world. Its story has been told in fragments. Now we have the first complete account of the movement, its history, philosophy and techniques. The author is most competent to tell this wonderful story, for he served the Antigonish Movement for 14 years. Dr. Laidlaw is presently National Secretary of the Cooperative Union of Canada.

For 30 years the faculty of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, has been directing a program for social and economic reform aiming for a just order and "to form the consciences and actions of men along the path of their true and final destiny." Great obstacles had to be over-

come. Only the strong souls of men of vision could lead people but of despair to become "masters of their own destiny." In this book their story is briefly told but their inspiration continues to enrich the hearts of men who once suffered cruel injustice, poverty and the loss of human dignity.

The first part of the book is "to examine the place of the university in adult education." Its second part interprets the global impact of St. F.X. in this field. Accordingly, the reader is presented with the importance of adult education and its historical background. When its need is recognized, there arises the question, whose responsibility is adult education?

Chapter Three clearly shows that such education is for the universities. Arguments for and against are discussed but the plea for such participation is far more convincing. One wonders why this conviction has not been accepted sooner and especially by richer universities. Reference is made to President Truman's commission on higher education in 1946 and its recommendations on adult education wherein one reads: "Every college and university must become a community college . . . it must cease to be campus-bound."

After an examination of university extension work in England, the United States and Canada, the author rightly maintains that St. Francis Xavier University has been outstanding in giving service to the social, economic and cultural needs of the community. Tribute is paid to the courageous pioneers—Dr. Hugh MacPherson, Dr. J. J. Tompkins, Rev. Michael Gillis, Bishop John D. MacDonald and the one the world knows best, Dr. M. M. Coady. Their love for and their faith in the common people was finally rewarded by the creation of the Extension Department in 1930 under the direction of Dr. Coady.

First objectives were the creation of study clubs and schools for leaders. In November, 1933 the first issue of *The Extension Bulletin* appeared to bring to the adult students ample material for reading. Today its place has been taken by *The Maritime Cooperator*. Down the years a host of pamphlets dealing with credit unions, cooperatives, health services, family life and so on have been published by the Extension Department.

As credit unions and all types of cooperative enterprises were founded and a new spirit of life was made active in people once crushed by despair, the influence of the Antigonish Movement was recognized in all Canada, the United States and by degrees in a great part of the free world.

Chapter Eight explains the philosophy of the movement. It sets forth its basic principles, its concern for the common man, the need for adult education, the economic approach to social progress through cooperation, and its spiritual aspects. In the words of Dr. Coady: "This program of adult education and economic action affords a great opportunity to the Church to convert the world to Christ."

What is going on in the Maritimes today? There are programs for rural life, for the fisheries and for urban life. Attention is called to the cooperative housing work which has solved the problem of low-cost housing for low-income people. Besides the techniques and methods used, the fact of radio education is most important. The Rural and Industrial Conference is a forum for the free discussion of public questions. Study club members benefited greatly from the use of the extension library.

At the end Dr. Laidlaw has included nine selected extracts which throw more light on the Antigonish Movement. Outstanding to this reviewer's mind is the sincere tribute of Dr. Coady to his friend, Dr. J. J. Tompkins, who "was always intellectually fresh, young and inspiring. This was probably his greatest characteristic." In 1959 the movement lost two great leaders. One was Dr. Coady and the other Dr. Michael J. MacKinnon. Under the title "The Humble Giants" Joseph Hernon writes a magnificent appreciation of their character and work which "was to lead the people they loved to a better, fuller life, to clear the skies of oppressive clouds that all might see the face of God." There is a brief mention of the new Coady International Institute, now functioning efficiently with students from many lands who will carry the saving message of Antigonish back to their distressed countrymen.

Here, then, is a book which should make Catholics examine their social conscience. It is one thing to talk. The story of Antigonish is one of accomplishment, frequently against discouraging odds. It should be

far better known to inspire those whose faith in human brotherhood is weak, to draw their attention away from the spurious appeal of bureaucratic government and to make them conscious that what has been done can be done again in thousands of communities throughout the world.

RICHARD M. McKEON, S.J.
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CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF BUSINESS.

By Richard Eells and Clarence Walton. Richard D. Irwin, Inc., Homewood, Ill., 533 pp. \$7

THE FOLKLORE OF MANAGEMENT.

By Clarence B. Randall. Little, Brown, Boston, 204 pp. \$4.75

More than a century ago Washington Irving coined the expression "the almighty dollar" to describe "the great object of universal devotion throughout our land." In the two books under review, three authors suggest that there are other values than money as a norm for living.

Few would deny that modern society has secured a great many advantages from the rise of large corporate business. The emergence of the corporate leviathan, however, has created some issues both of public and private policy which were largely unknown in days past when our economy was largely comprised of small enterprises.

In their book, Messrs. Eells and Walton delineate and outline the legal, philosophical and historical roots sustaining business enterprise in the Western world. Their probings raise some challenging questions which deserve wide public discussion. According to the authors, the structural foundations of a free and democratic society are threatened today by two forces: the dissipation of economic wealth and technological brilliance by political impotence and the alleged failure of American leadership in business, labor and government, not only in failing to develop the necessary refinements in basic ideas which make traditional beliefs meaningful but also in not formulating new concepts and syntheses.

Mr. Randall has had a brilliant career in industry and public service. Borrowing heavily on this inheritance, the author is eminently qualified to scrutinize and to puncture certain fads and fashions embedded in the practice of modern management.

In the assembled chapters of this book (which appeared first as a series of magazine articles) a happy combination of wisdom and witticism is revealed. In the chapter entitled "The Myth of the Rugged Individualist," Mr. Randall rejects the popular persuasion that modern man has grown soft in his quest of security and has somehow lost the clipper-ship daring of his ancestors while surrendering important matters of self-determination to others. As an enlightened and articulate spokesman for the business community, Mr. Randall believes we should stop wringing our hands over the disappearance of "the good old days" and accept the fact that it is possible to see the twin forces of security and independence operating side by side in our society while at the same time contributing jointly to the soundness of our economy.

FRANCIS J. CORRIGAN,
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JUSTICE HOLMES, NATURAL LAW, AND THE SUPREME COURT. By Francis Biddle. Macmillan, New York. 77 pp. \$2.50

This is a group of three lectures by a former Attorney General of the United States. They were given at the University of Texas in December, 1960 and have as one of their principal aims the defense of Holmes against "the zeal and intolerance of the crusading fanatic." The reference is to those students of philosophy and law who have questioned the fundamental jurisprudence of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., by pointing out that in his philosophy of law might makes right.

The first lecture summarizes Holmes' life and legal viewpoints, adding little to what we know already from other sources.

The second lecture attempts to refute the philosophical criticism of Holmes, made by such fanatics as Francis E. Lucey, regent of the Georgetown Law School, William J. Kenealy, former dean of the Boston College Law School, and the undersigned. This lecture suffers from some major defects. It is written by a very annoyed admirer of Holmes, who attempts ridicule without having the gift of doing it gracefully. More basically, the writer does not seem to have the philosophical equipment to come to grips with the fundamental issues raised.

The third lecture is for the most part a

book review, with comments and reflections, of *Government Under Law* (Harvard University Press, 1956). This volume contains the papers on judicial function in constitutional decisions, delivered at the "Marshall Conference" (Harvard) in September, 1955.

As one of the fanatical priests who has annoyed Mr. Biddle so much, it is preferable that I leave to others the task of refuting him, if anyone thinks the matter of sufficient importance. I will confine myself to these brief remarks. Neither these lectures, nor any other writings I have seen during the 20 years that have elapsed since I began the discussion, have demonstrated or even made a fair show of demonstrating any substantial error in my original summary and analysis of Holmes' fundamental juristic philosophy. Furthermore, I am convinced that if Holmes himself could walk into our midst he would agree, with characteristic courage and intellectual honesty, that my essay portrays his fundamental positions fairly and accurately. But if there are some unintentional inaccuracies or misinterpretations, and if Holmes felt they were important enough to call for comment, he would have done so trenchantly and courteously, without resorting to imputations of clerical fanaticism.

The author of these lectures simply cannot bring himself to believe that Holmes meant what he said when he said it. He does not seem to share his hero's philosophical acumen, or for that matter, his good manners.

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ISLAM AND THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY. By W. Montgomery Watt. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Ill., x, 293 pp. \$6

The author of this interesting work has already made several important contributions to Western literature on Islam. In this book he attempts something which has significance both for specialists in Islam and for those whose interest is more general. He asks and attempts to answer sociological questions. Dr. Watt has produced a stimulating introduction to a discussion which

should be carried on, not only by Islamists, but also by professional sociologists.

The seven long chapters which follow a short chapter entitled "Problems and Pre-suppositions" discuss the place of economic and social factors, the role of ideation, the will to unity and disunity, and the integration of political life, the mores, intellectual life, and the psyche. A wealth of material is used, which may make the book somewhat difficult reading for those unacquainted with Islam. Occasionally, too, it seems that the use of technical terms dims the clarity of the thought and leads to statements which require further qualification. However, the author has a great deal of ground to cover and it is more useful and suggestive at this time to have a broad view which can be sharpened and refined (and perhaps corrected at times) by more limited and profounder studies of the many questions and problems presented by the subject.

Dr. Watt has tried to be "objective," though it seems rather difficult to determine precisely what being objective means in such a perilous and delicate field as that of sociology. Thus, the Catholic reader will find it difficult to agree with the assertion that matters which transcend sense-experience are "intuitions" which we can neither justify nor employ any objective criterion of their truth. He would also want to know what "the Church" means in the author's concluding statement that "history and the Bible combine to remind him that it is possible for the Church to take a false turning." And he would doubtless prefer to have other sociological guides in addition to Karl Mannheim. Yet, he must be grateful to Dr. Watt for writing a work which is an impressive introduction and an erudite inducement to much needed further sociological studies of the great and important society engendered by Islam.

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POLITICS AND TRADE POLICY. By Joe R. Wilkinson. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. viii, 151 pp. \$3.75

The author of this book examines the development of the U. S. foreign economic policy with especial emphasis on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program. To justify yet another addition to the growing

literature on the subject, the author assures us that he will not "invade the realm of the theorist" nor does he want to "reconcile economics and politics in the area of U. S. Trade policy"; however, he sets out to "explore the political process itself as it operated relative to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program during the years 1934-1958."

The many extensions of the act, one in the inter-war period, one during the period of World War II, and nine between the end of World War II and the present time—the present extension act is due to expire in 1962—afforded an excellent opportunity for the opponents of the program to voice their views and to add debilitating amendments. Much of the book is a record of the views that were presented by both sides in these debates and the compromises that were hammered out in the Senate and the House. The author is rather alarmed over the trend of protectionism, particularly during the past decade, and he is skeptical of the chances of liberalization of the provisions of the act in the near future. The last chapter of the book, "The Trade Agreements Program in the Future," should make particularly interesting reading in view of the pending renewal of the act in 1962 and the difficulties in Congress which are expected by most competent observers at this time.

The author has done an extremely thorough job in assembling the materials to trace the story of politics of international trade in Congress. Unfortunately, his account is by no means an exciting reading as it should be. The battle scenes between the liberals and the protectionists in the successive renewals of the trade agreements program are too similar to be of interest to all but the specialist. Moreover, the deliberations of Congress and the attitudes of the legislators are presented in a vacuum. What motivated the protectionists? Whom or what are they really protecting? Has there been any change in the object of protection from 1934 to 1958? These questions are answered most vaguely, if at all. The American Tariff League is only referred to in two brief references, and its successor, the Trade Relations Council, is not mentioned at all. Other omissions include the work of O. R. Strackbein, a lobbyist who has been able to combine the otherwise most diverse eco-

nomic interest groups for the purposes of protection, and the Committee for a National Trade Policy, consideration of which would have made the liberal position appear more realistic and closer to the grass roots.

F. A. BREIER
University of San Francisco

THE HERITAGE OF AMERICAN SOCIAL

WORK. Edited by Ralph E. Pumphrey and Muriel W. Pumphrey. Columbia University Press, New York. xvi, 452 pp. \$10

This is an invaluable compilation of documents with discussion by the editors from the Colonial Period beginning with 1601 to the present time and showing how the social and economic needs of the underprivileged came from England's Poor Laws of Elizabeth and by the standards of today were indeed harsh, with sharp distinction made between the worthy and unworthy poor, apprenticeship for dependent children and Alms Houses for the destitute and incapacitated. Public unconcern persisted to the end of the 19th century in the United States and, save for the efforts of private and principally sectarian groups, might still be prevalent. Even these latter, with small financial resources, were driven to solutions they themselves must have regretted. One such, was the practice of literally "unloading" the surplus of dependent and orphaned children of the large Eastern cities on the less populated farm areas of the Midwest, where the child, boy or girl, between seven and 15 years of age, might grow up to be a valued helper on a farm.

The student of today and the professional social worker who look angrily at inadequate assistance to the aged or to dependent children must not forget the battle that pioneers waged to bring about such advances as the Social Security Act of 1935 with its beneficent provisions. One might have wished that the Catholic record of care for children and the general concern for those in need would have found more place in the *Heritage of American Social Work* but the record is hard to come by, for no one has adequately put it down, in writing.

A. H. SCHELLER, S.J.
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PROFILES OF AFRICAN LEADERS. By Thomas Patrick Melady. Macmillan, New York. xii, 186 pp. \$4.95

Today the men in the van in Africa are much in the news. As was the case with the rise of leadership in Asia during and immediately upon the close of the Second World War, so it is with Africa now. The Western world knows almost nothing about those who dominate the recently freed areas of that continent. It is most unfortunate that the present volume does very little to fill this void. What Mr. Melady has done is simply to put together and rehash the kind of light, popular material found in almost any good newspaper or magazine.

There is here no real understanding of the men involved. There is nothing here to tell us about their character; nothing that helps us see inside of them as individual personalities or aid us to comprehend what moves and motivates them. There is absence of data that provide foundation for knowing some of the reasons behind the decisions they make: Why Selassie suffered a rebellious uprising in the spring of 1961. What prompts Nkrumah to take off in all directions in his quest to be the George Washington of Africa. Why Nyerere seems so stable, intelligent and sharp-minded; Tubman shrewd and strong; Houphouet-Boigny dexterous and cagey; Balewa overly cautious; Senghor the cultural mystic of practical bent; Mboya crafty, clever and smart; or why Touré has personally followed the course pursued so far. One searches in vain for the comprehensive insights and material of this kind, and it is notable for its absence. Although these are "profiles," even profiles of persons can produce analytically useful data of this nature if one is really close to the subject.

African leadership provides a new group of decision-makers that the world needs to know more about and quickly. As yet there has not been a single well-rounded, biographical, depth-probing study made of these new men on the world scene. We can only hope that the near future will see Mr. Melady's efforts expanded by others into the kind of serious and useful studies for which there is such great and pressing need.

HUGH H. SMYTHE
Brooklyn College

**FUNDAMENTAL CATHOLIC TEACHING
ON THE HUMAN RACE.** By John J.
Considine, M.M. Maryknoll Publications,
Maryknoll, N.Y. 91 pp. \$1

For the precise, and eminently valid, reason that there exists no book that covers the field, Father Considine has produced this one. Few people I know could do as well, and practically no one better.

There was a time when the missionary left a Catholic culture and made his difficult way to a pagan culture. There he grasped the grubby little hand of the "native," baptized him, and took paternalistic charge of his life. For the Catholic of old, the missions were "out there." The propaganda of mission procurators emphasized the hardships of the poor missionary: his living conditions were horrible, his food abominable, his transportation was at least romantic, and quaintness of the people really made life that much more difficult for the missionary.

Nowadays, there is no longer any Catholic culture for the missionary to leave, nor is there a pagan culture in which he will work. There is no "native" to treat like a child. Rather, there are people in a new awakening. We have long realized that we should not work for people but *with* them. Today, the new realization is the fact of *sharing*. It is now so obvious that not only

do we have something to give to them, but they have much to give to us. Also, we now see so clearly that the missionary should not have a ghetto vocation; he should work for the totality of human beings within his sphere. In short, we are concerned with the human race.

Total humanity is discussed under every possible heading in these pages. Our duty-bound concern for every human being (not only actual but potential members of the Mystical Body) is clear. This concern should be involved with all levels; political, economic, social. Our concern is founded on and is inspired by Catholic theology, the Scriptures, philosophy. A substratum of social science peeps out here and there. A practical missionary conclusion is what is called missionary accommodation: fitting in Christianity as very best we can with the local cultures of mankind. All the thoughtful bases of the "new look" are here.

In a word, this slim, soft-shelled book is an absolute must for missionaries, that is, for those who are actually to travel to foreign parts, and for missionaries wherever they operate. This means every Catholic, for Christ founded an essentially missionary Church.

J. FRANKLIN EWING, S.J.
Fordham University, N.Y.

Letters

"Who Speaks For Farmers?"

I consider Mr. Bernard Brenner's article in your November issue a very objective analysis on the subject of "Who Speaks For Farmers?" While I might not agree with all of the statements made, it was a well written article by a very well qualified reporter.

CHARLES B. SHUMAN, President

American Farm Bureau Federation
Chicago 54, Illinois

"Argentina's Hungry North"

SOCIAL ORDER is to be commended for publishing the excellent background article, "Argentina's Hungry North," by Samuel Shapiro, in its October issue.

The author's historical approach and thought-provoking marshalling of facts is a valuable antidote to the superficial, crudely slanted reporting and emotion-charged discussions of Latin American problems now prevalent.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with his estimates or conclusions—particularly as to

the "very dark and probably tragic future" of Argentina's sugar workers—his treatment is notably free from a fundamental error of many writers and speakers on Latin America today: a tendency to identify special interests with our national interest.

Further, Shapiro rouses interest in an aspect of the problem not dealt with in his article: What are the victims of the "centuries-old misery in the Latin American country side" thinking and saying about their future?

If the United States is to give meaningful content to the policy of helping Latin American countries to help themselves, we must know what the people of those countries who need help are doing to help themselves . . . not merely what special interests in our country want them to do.

RICHARD B. TUSSEY

Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

"The Problem of Economic Development"

"The Problem of Economic Development" in your September issue by John J. Murphy is one of the most logical and forthright articles on this issue that I have yet read.

I particularly appreciated his order of precedence in his key questions and the conclusive argument he used to point out that it is more important to concentrate on the underdeveloped country itself (*i.e.*, to be objective) than to be constantly worried about using aid to a nation as a stick with which to hit bogey-man Communism over the head (*i.e.*, to be subjective). In other words, today we are (but shouldn't be) more concerned for our own gain than for the advancement of the nation starving culturally, mechanically, physically, agriculturally.

However, I would like to point out and disagree with one of his opinions. It is the following:

... traditional pattern of development through which Western Europe and the United States passed . . . within a political structure which recognized the primacy of the individual over the state . . . (Italics mine)

In theory and in law, I would agree with the author in most instances; but in practice—never. England, during one of her

greatest economic developments, was a nation that reeked from Scotland to Land's End with sweat shops. And what smelled on the other side of the Puddle? The very same things—sweat shops, 14-hour days, child labor. Is this practicing "primacy of the individual over the state?" No! Is this the way England and the United States should have developed economically within the bounds of human dignity? No! Is this the way any nation with legitimate authority from God which by nature and necessity must be transmitted through the people should have treated its endowers? No!

There is no possible way in which England and the United States could be said to have practiced "primacy of the individual" in their economic developments in the second half of the 19th century. The sweatshop was the progenitor of Marx. And like the Marxist theory of economics which preaches but does not practice, so did the great English-speaking countries preach individual primacy but did not practice.

TIMOTHY DEMPSEY

St. Pius X Seminary
Galt, California

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THE EDITORS

P. S. In fact, we're hoping to hear from you even without the gift subscription—but, please, 300 words or less so that we can print your letter.

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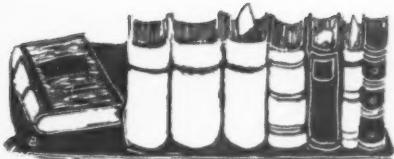
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